





THE
HISTORY OF INDIA.

VOL. IV.—PART II.

MOGHUL EMPIRE—AURANGZEB.

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THE
HISTORY OF INDIA

FROM THE EARLIEST AGES.

BY

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PREFACE.

THE present publication (Vol. IV. Part ii.) completes the fourth volume of the History of India. At the same time it completes the history of Hindu and Muhammadan rule which preceded the establishment of British rule. The portion thus brought to a close may be described as both ancient and modern. It begins with the earliest dawn of Sanskrit legend, and ends with the downfall of the Moghul Empire, about the middle of the eighteenth century. Vol. I. deals with the Vedic hymns and the Sanskrit epic known as the Mahá Bhárata ; Vol. II. with the Sanskrit epic of the Rámáyana and the Laws and Institutions of Manu ; Vol. III. with the history of India during the Hindu, Buddhist, and Brahmanic periods. These three volumes cover a period which can only be imperfectly mapped out by chronology, as they deal with a remote antiquity, whilst overlapping much of modern times. Vol. IV. is more definite. It comprises the history of Muhammadan rule in India, from the Arab conquests in the eighth century down to the eve of British conquest in the eighteenth ; a period of a

thousand years, corresponding to the interval in English history between the later wars of the Heptarchy and the accession of George the Third.

Muhammadian rule in India is an important era in the history of the world, inasmuch as it intervenes between the idolatry of Hindus and the professed Christianity of Englishmen. The annals of early Muhammadian conquest are, perhaps, of comparatively minor importance. Arabs, Turks, and Afghans were mostly bent on plundering temples and breaking down idols, but they could not crush out the old mythological worship of the Hindus, or establish the religion of the Koran as the dominant faith of the masses. Kingdoms were created by the sword and maintained by the sword; but there was no cohesion between the Muhammadian rulers and the Hindu population to ensure the permanence of Muhammadian dominion.

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The history of Muhammadan rule in India, from the early Arab conquests in Scinde down to the end of the reign of Shah Jehan, has already been treated in Part I. of the present volume. Part II., which is now submitted to the public, deals with the violent reaction of bigotry and intolerance which characterised the reign of Aurangzeb, the son and successor of Shah Jehan. Aurangzeb professed to be a Sunní Muhammadan of the strictest type. He gained the throne by hypocrisy and murder, and then lavished the strength and treasures of the empire in the hopeless attempt to crush out idolatry and heterodoxy, and to establish the religion of the Koran as the dominant faith of the people of India. Then followed popular tumults, Rajpút revolts, and Mahratta uprisings, which sapped the vitality of the Moghul Empire, and rendered it an easy prey to internal enemies and foreign invaders.

The present half of the fourth volume is thus devoted to the reign of Aurangzeb, under whom the Moghul Empire reached its zenith, and the reigns of his successors, under whom the empire declined and fell. It covers an entire century, beginning with the accession of Aurangzeb in 1658, the year of the death

of Oliver Cromwell, and ending just before the rise of British dominion in India in the early years of George III. It thus deals with a period of peculiar interest to English readers;—namely, the old commercial era, when India was still governed by its native princes, whilst the late East India Company was exclusively occupied with its trading transactions at Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay, and had not as yet begun to aspire after territorial aggrandisement or political power.

The reign of Aurangzeb is not generally familiar to English readers. Previous Moghul sovereigns had been anxious to hand down the story of their lives to future generations, but Aurangzeb was induced to issue an edict strictly forbidding his subjects from writing the annals of his reign. The reasons for this strange prohibition are explained in the accompanying History;¹ but the consequence has been that the materials furnished by Muhammadan writers for dealing with the reign of Aurangzeb are meagre and unsatisfactory. Fortunately the deficiency has been supplied in some measure by the old records of the Madras Government, and Catrou's History of the Moghul Empire, which was based upon the contemporary memoirs of Manouchi, the Venetian physician, who resided for nearly fifty years in India, and was for a long time in the service of the Moghul. The Madras records were investigated by the author in 1860-61 under the instructions of Sir Charles Tre-

¹ See Chap. vii. page 361.

velyan, who was at that time Governor.² The memoirs of Manouchi have been already described in the Preface to Part I.; but it may be added, on the authority of the Madras records, that during the latter years of the reign of Aurangzeb, Manouchi took up his abode at Madras, where he was much respected by the English, and employed on more than one occasion in presenting petitions to the Moghul in behalf of the East India Company's servants at Fort St. George.³

There is one other feature in the present half volume to which attention may be drawn. The ninth chapter, which deals with the state of civilisation in the Moghul Empire, mainly consists of the evidence of European travellers who sojourned in India at different intervals in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Some account of these travellers will be found in the chapter in question. It will suffice, in the present place, to mention the names of Terry, Della Valle, Tavernier, Thevenot, Fryer, Hamilton, and Karstens Niebuhr, as amongst the most competent and trustworthy eyewitnesses of the condition of the people of India, in addition to those who have been already brought under review in Part I. of the present volume.

The remaining portion of the present History will

² The results of these investigations were published at Madras in 1861-62, in three volumes, small 4to, under the title of "Madras in the Olden Time, Compiled from Official Records."

³ The author is indebted to his publisher, Mr. N. Trübner, for a copy of Father Catrou's History of the Reign of Aurangzeb, but the original memoirs, written in Portuguese, which Manouchi sent to Europe in the beginning of the last century, have not as yet been discovered.

comprise that of British India, and will deal with the rise and growth of British power, and progress of British administration and legislation, from the earliest settlements of the late East India Company in India down to our own time.⁴

WITHAM, ESSEX,
December 1880.

⁴ In Part I. of the present volume the author expressed the opinion that the Vedic Aryans might possibly prove to have been Moghuls; and as this hypothesis has met with some opposition, he would take this opportunity of furnishing additional grounds for arriving at such a conclusion. During a residence in Burma he found that the Burmese, who are unquestionably Moghuls, still cherish the traditions and worship of the Vedic gods. They are Buddhists; but on the first day of every new year they celebrate the descent of Indra. In their popular songs they implore Indra and the other Vedic gods, especially Brahma, to help them in their troubles. At Mandalay he found that the King of Burma entertained Bráhmans at his court; that on state occasions these Bráhmans chanted hymns which resembled Vedic hymns. Subsequently he found that the Moghul Khans in Upper Asia, in the neighbourhood of the Altai mountains, presented wine and food in Vedic fashion to fire, air, water, and ghosts; that their priests, like Bráhmans, were skilled in astronomy, foretold eclipses, and cast nativities; that they had dirty saints, like Hindu *yogis*, who performed miracles by virtue of their sanctity and penances. Pursuing these inquiries, he found that Sir Henry Rawlinson had discovered that the language of the ancient Scythians was Aryan, and he deemed it possible that the Moghuls, who are descendants of ancient Scythians, were Aryans likewise. It was on these data that he pronounced it likely that the Moghuls and the Vedic Aryans had a common origin.

Father Rubruquis states in his *Travels* amongst the Tartars in the thirteenth century that the Moghuls regarded themselves as a sovereign tribe. Possibly they may have been descendants from the royal Scythians described by Herodotus. It is equally possible that they may have been originally an Aryan colony, who had established a supremacy over a Turanian or non-Aryan people. It is certain that the two races of Turks and Moghuls have been in antagonism from a very remote period; they have waged perpetual war against each other. The Turks are the so-called Children of the Moon, and to this day they carry the crescent on their standard. The Moghuls are the so-called Children of the Sun, and to this day they carry a peacock on their standard. A peacock of gold and jewels blazed over the throne of the Moghul Emperor Shah Jehan, and a peacock is still the standard of the Moghul kings of Burma.

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The Moghul Empire, which was established in India during the sixteenth century, was based upon a totally different policy. Akbar, the contemporary of Queen Elizabeth, was the real founder of the empire. Although a Muhammadan in name, and for some years a Muhammadan by profession, he introduced a new system of religious toleration and equality of creeds, which was unknown to previous Muhammadan princes, and, indeed, was repugnant to the fundamental principles of the Muhammadan religion. Akbar trampled on the exclusiveness of the Koran, threw off the ecclesiastical domination of the Ulamá, raised Hindus as well as Muhammadans to the highest offices in the

state, and, finally, affected to be not only a temporal sovereign, but an incarnation of deity. Right or wrong, the policy of Abkar secured for a while the cohesion, and, consequently, the permanence, of the Moghul Empire, and maintained it intact through the reigns of his two immediate successors, Jehangír and Shah Jehan.

The history of Muhammadan rule in India, from the early Arab conquests in Scinde down to the end of the reign of Shah Jehan, has already been treated in Part I. of the present volume. Part II., which is now submitted to the public, deals with the violent reaction of bigotry and intolerance which characterised the reign of Aurangzeb, the son and successor of Shah Jehan. Aurangzeb professed to be a Sunní Muhammadan of the strictest type. He gained the throne by hypocrisy and murder, and then lavished the strength and treasures of the empire in the hopeless attempt to crush out idolatry and heterodoxy, and to establish the religion of the Koran as the dominant faith of the people of India. Then followed popular tumults, Rajpút revolts, and Mahratta uprisings, which sapped the vitality of the Moghul Empire, and rendered it an easy prey to internal enemies and foreign invaders.

The present half of the fourth volume is thus devoted to the reign of Aurangzeb, under whom the Moghul Empire reached its zenith, and the reigns of his successors, under whom the empire declined and fell. It covers an entire century, beginning with the accession of Aurangzeb in 1658, the year of the death

of Oliver Cromwell, and ending just before the rise of British dominion in India in the early years of George III. It thus deals with a period of peculiar interest to English readers;—namely, the old commercial era, when India was still governed by its native princes, whilst the late East India Company was exclusively occupied with its trading transactions at Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay, and had not as yet begun to aspire after territorial aggrandisement or political power.

The reign of Aurangzeb is not generally familiar to English readers. Previous Moghul sovereigns had been anxious to hand down the story of their lives to future generations, but Aurangzeb was induced to issue an edict strictly forbidding his subjects from writing the annals of his reign. The reasons for this strange prohibition are explained in the accompanying History;¹ but the consequence has been that the materials furnished by Muhammadan writers for dealing with the reign of Aurangzeb are meagre and unsatisfactory. Fortunately the deficiency has been supplied in some measure by the old records of the Madras Government, and Catrou's History of the Moghul Empire, which was based upon the contemporary memoirs of Manouchi, the Venetian physician, who resided for nearly fifty years in India, and was for a long time in the service of the Moghul. The Madras records were investigated by the author in 1860-61 under the instructions of Sir Charles Tre-

¹ See Chap. vii. page 361.

velyan, who was at that time Governor.² The memoirs of Manouchi have been already described in the Preface to Part I.; but it may be added, on the authority of the Madras records, that during the latter years of the reign of Aurangzeb, Manouchi took up his abode at Madras, where he was much respected by the English, and employed on more than one occasion in presenting petitions to the Moghul in behalf of the East India Company's servants at Fort St. George.³

There is one other feature in the present half volume to which attention may be drawn. The ninth chapter, which deals with the state of civilisation in the Moghul Empire, mainly consists of the evidence of European travellers who sojourned in India at different intervals in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Some account of these travellers will be found in the chapter in question. It will suffice, in the present place, to mention the names of Terry, Della Valle, Tavernier, Thevenot, Fryer, Hamilton, and Karstens Niebuhr, as amongst the most competent and trustworthy eyewitnesses of the condition of the people of India, in addition to those who have been already brought under review in Part I. of the present volume.

The remaining portion of the present History will

² The results of these investigations were published at Madras in 1861-62, in three volumes, small 4to, under the title of "Madras in the Olden Time, Compiled from Official Records."

³ The author is indebted to his publisher, Mr. N. Trübner, for a copy of Father Catrou's History of the Reign of Aurangzeb, but the original memoirs, written in Portuguese, which Manouchi sent to Europe in the beginning of the last century, have not as yet been discovered.

comprise that of British India, and will deal with the rise and growth of British power, and progress of British administration and legislation, from the earliest settlements of the late East India Company in India down to our own time.⁴

WITHAM, ESSEX,
December 1880.

⁴ In Part I. of the present volume the author expressed the opinion that the Vedic Aryans might possibly prove to have been Moghuls; and as this hypothesis has met with some opposition, he would take this opportunity of furnishing additional grounds for arriving at such a conclusion. During a residence in Burma he found that the Burmese, who are unquestionably Moghuls, still cherish the traditions and worship of the Vedic gods. They are Buddhists; but on the first day of every new year they celebrate the descent of Indra. In their popular songs they implore Indra and the other Vedic gods, especially Brahma, to help them in their troubles. At Mandalay he found that the King of Burma entertained Bráhmans at his court; that on state occasions these Bráhmans chanted hymns which resembled Vedic hymns. Subsequently he found that the Moghul Khans in Upper Asia, in the neighbourhood of the Altai mountains, presented wine and food in Vedic fashion to fire, air, water, and ghosts; that their priests, like Bráhmans, were skilled in astronomy, foretold eclipses, and cast nativities; that they had dirty saints, like Hindu *yogis*, who performed miracles by virtue of their sanctity and penances. Pursuing these inquiries, he found that Sir Henry Rawlinson had discovered that the language of the ancient Scythians was Aryan, and he deemed it possible that the Moghuls, who are descendants of ancient Scythians, were Aryans likewise. It was on these data that he pronounced it likely that the Moghuls and the Vedic Aryans had a common origin.

Father Rubruquis states in his Travels amongst the Tartars in the thirteenth century that the Moghuls regarded themselves as a sovereign tribe. Possibly they may have been descendants from the royal Scythians described by Herodotus. It is equally possible that they may have been originally an Aryan colony, who had established a supremacy over a Turanian or non-Aryan people. It is certain that the two races of Turks and Moghuls have been in antagonism from a very remote period; they have waged perpetual war against each other. The Turks are the so-called Children of the Moon, and to this day they carry the crescent on their standard. The Moghuls are the so-called Children of the Sun, and to this day they carry a peacock on their standard. A peacock of gold and jewels blazed over the throne of the Moghul Emperor Shah Jehan, and a peacock is still the standard of the Moghul kings of Burma.

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HISTORY OF INDIA.

CHAPTER VII.

MOGHUL EMPIRE: AURANGZEB, A.D. 1658 TO 1707.

FIRST PERIOD: *Aurangzeb at Delhi*, 1658-64.

AURANGZEB had achieved the object of his ambition. CHAP. VII.
By craft, hypocrisy, and bloodshed, he had gained the Terrors of Au-
rangzeb.
empire of Hindustan. His three brothers had perished in the fratricidal war. His eldest son had suffered death as a punishment for rebellion. His father, Shah Jehan, was still alive, imprisoned in the fortress at Agra. The vision of Shah Jehan at Agra was a constant terror to Aurangzeb; it poisoned his pleasures and paralysed his ambition; it was the skeleton that haunted the palace at Delhi. Aurangzeb was in constant alarm lest Rajpúts or Shíahs should release Shah Jehan, and restore him to the throne of the Moghuls.¹

¹ The state of affairs described in the text refers to the period when Aurangzeb had overcome all his rivals. It follows on the preceding chapter. In 1658 Aurangzeb had ascended the throne; he had not destroyed all his rivals until two or three years afterwards.

Throughout the following pages the name of "Aurungzeb" has been altered to "Aurangzeb," and that of "Rajpoot" to "Rajpút," to suit modern orthography.

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Sherif of Mecca.

Aurangzeb ascended the throne at Delhi in 1658. He did not take the title of Emperor until two years afterwards. The chief Kází of the empire refused to acknowledge him as the rightful sovereign, seeing that Shah Jehan was still alive. The Sherif of Mecca, the great spiritual authority throughout the world of Islam, told the Mecca pilgrims that he knew of no sovereign of Hindustan except Shah Jehan. Aurangzeb sent an embassy to Mecca with a large sum of money to decorate the tomb of Muhammad. The Sherif was inexorable; he refused to receive the envoys or accept the money; the envoys were compelled to carry back the money to Aurangzeb.²

Aurangzeb Padishah.

The difficulty as regards the chief Kází was surmounted. A council of Mullahs was assembled at Delhi; the chief Kází was deposed, and a more compliant divine was appointed in his room.³ In October 1660 Aurangzeb was proclaimed Padishah from the pulpit, and the Khutba was read and money coined in his name. Henceforth he was the acknowledged Emperor of Hindustan.⁴

Temporising policy.

Aurangzeb had made his religion a stepping-stone to the throne. He professed to be a strict Sunní, whilst his predecessors, if anything, were lax Shíahs. By so doing, he won the support of all orthodox Mu-

² Manouchi through Father Catrou. It is stated by Catrou that Aurangzeb did not take the title of Padishah until after the death of Shah Jehan. This is contradicted by the united authority of Khafi Khan and Tavernier.

³ It will be seen hereafter that the new chief Kází was anything but a strict Muhammadan. His daily indulgence in wine was the gossip of the court.

⁴ Khafi Khan says that Aurangzeb ascended the throne at Delhi in 1658, and was not proclaimed Padishah till the second year of the reign. The Mussulman historian ignores the refusal of the chief Kází to acknowledge Aurangzeb. The real facts are revealed by Tavernier. See *Indian Travels*, Book ii., chap. 5.

hammadans of the Sunnī sect. But after his accession he was compelled to dissemble for a while. Many of the grandees were Persian Shíahs. Then again the Hindús were afraid that Aurangzeb would destroy their idol-worship. Meantime there was much carping against Aurangzeb for the slaughter of his brothers and imprisonment of his father. Accordingly, he found it necessary to proceed warily.⁵

Aurangzeb drew the Hindú Rajas to his court at Delhi by giving them a magnificent entertainment, which lasted nine days. It was a round of elephant fights, pompous processions, and displays of fireworks. The Hindú Rajas paid their court to their new sovereign; presented him with gifts; and congratulated him on his accession. At these audiences Aurangzeb made a show of offering sacrifices. He threw pepper on a burning brazier, and as the smoke arose, he lifted up his eyes to heaven and uttered his prayers. By this breach of the Koran he thought to quiet the Hindú Rajas.⁶

Leanings
towards
Hinduism.

The Muhammadans took the alarm; they complained of this idolatrous superstition. Aurangzeb amused them with a series of ordinances, which enforced the laws of the Koran at the expense of Christians and Shíahs. He issued an edict against the use of wine. All Muhammadans convicted of drinking wine were deprived of a hand or foot. Christians were allowed to drink wine on their own premises,

Leanings
towards the
Koran.

⁵ The principal authorities for the history of the reign of Aurangzeb, from his accession in 1658 to his journey to Kashmír in 1664, are Bernier, the French physician, and Manouchi, the Venetian physician. Khafí Khan supplies some useful data, but his information is imperfect. Other authorities will be cited.

⁶ Manouchi through Father Catrou. Manouchi adds that the people believed that Aurangzeb was a magician; that the burning pepper was a sacrifice to the demon from whom he acquired supernatural powers.

CHAP. VII.

but were forbidden to sell it; and all who broke the law were imprisoned and bastinadoed. But no edict could suppress intoxication, and the use of wine was universal. Aurangzeb himself remarked that there were only two men in the empire who abstained from wine, the chief Kází and himself. Even there he was deceived. Every morning the court physician carried a flagon of wine to the chief Kází, and the pair emptied it together.⁷ Even the Kotwal of Delhi, the police magistrate who carried out the ordinances of Aurangzeb, was a notorious toper; but he was none the less zealous on that account in punishing drunkards. The people of Hindustan had always been accustomed to strong drinks. When wine was prohibited they took to bhang—a drug which produced a far more dangerous intoxication.⁸

Edict against
mustachios.

Aurangzeb issued another edict of a more whimsical nature. The Súfis of Persia were accustomed to wear long mustachios after the fashion set by the Prophet Ali.⁹ Aurangzeb pretended that the long mustachios interfered with the right pronounciation of the name of Allah, and prevented the sound from ascending to Heaven. He appointed special officers to measure the mustachios of passers-by. Men ran about with scissors to clip them to the orthodox standard. Dignitaries and princes covered their faces with their hands to save their mustachios.¹⁰

Aurangzeb next abolished music and singing. Offi-

⁷ The morning time, after the Emperor left the Jarokha window, was the only part of the day when the Moghul courtiers could drink in safety. The animal combats at noon, the durbar in the afternoon, and the evening assembly, might have brought an offending noble within close proximity to the Emperor, and discovery and punishment would have been the result.

⁸ Manouchi through Catrou.

⁹ Olearius's Travels, English translation, Book vi.

¹⁰ Manouchi through Catrou.

cers were empowered to enter any dwelling-house where music was heard and turn out the musicians and burn their instruments. The object was to suppress all satirical songs. Multitudes of musicians were reduced to beggary; heaps of musical instruments were destroyed. Music could only be performed in secret, and on such occasions Aurangzeb was severely handled in the songs.¹¹

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Musicians
suppressed.

Aurangzeb also abolished dancing. The dancing-girls lived together in bands, occupied mansions as large as palaces, and formed the scandalous class of Hindustan.¹² Shah Jehan had delighted in their performances. Aurangzeb ordered them to be all married or banished from his dominions. Probably he wanted to assert his superior morality. Many were dispersed; some married; others continued in the secret practice of their old trade.¹³

Dancing-girls
suppressed.

Aurangzeb, notwithstanding his zeal for Islam, had a spite against the Santons. These men claimed to be descendants of the family of the Prophet. They professed to lead lives of austerity and celibacy; they were revered as saints; they were carried in expensive palanquins, or rode on costly horses, accompanied by disciples and followers. The people prostrated themselves before a Santon; they assailed him with

Muhammadian
saints.

¹¹ Manouchi through Catrou. He adds, that the musicians made a strange appeal to Aurangzeb; that one Friday morning, as the Emperor was going to mosque, he saw a vast crowd of mourners marching in file behind a bier, and filling the air with screams and lamentations. He asked what it all meant. He was told that they were going to bury "Music;" their mother had been executed, and they were weeping over their loss. "Bury her deep," he cried; "she must never rise again." The story is confirmed by Khafi Khan.

¹² See a curious description of one of these houses in vol. iii., chap. 6.

¹³ Marriage is a strange punishment for a dancing-girl. Tavernier tells the story of a Shah of Persia who ordered a dancing-girl to be married as a punishment for having boxed the ears of one of her companions within his Majesty's hearing. *Persian Travels*, Book iii., chap. 17.

CHAP. VII. petitions and prayers; he affected to grant all that was wanted with a complaisant smile or a wave of the hand. Wealthy petitioners went to his house, and secretly prayed to him for everything ambition or passion could suggest. Women specially went in crowds, and caused endless scandal.

Rebel Santons.

Twelve Santons had committed a crime which Aurangzeb never forgave. They had promised the empire to his eldest brother, Dara. The people of Delhi had been so deceived by this prophecy that they had helped Dara against Aurangzeb. The Emperor resolved to punish the Santons without alarming the Muhammadans. He ordered the twelve men to be brought before him. He told them that their false prophecy convinced him that they were not descended from the Prophet. He gave them three days for fasting and prayer; at the end of that time they must prove their claim by working a miracle.

Punishment of Santons.

The Santons confessed that the people gave them credit for more sanctity than they possessed. But Aurangzeb was not to be turned from his purpose. The three days passed away; the Santons were utterly unable to impose a miracle on Aurangzeb. They could expect no mercy. The Emperor reviled them for their deceit and hypocrisy. He ordered some of the worst to be imprisoned in a strong fortress, telling them that nothing but a miracle could deliver them. The remainder were banished his dominions.¹⁴

Ruin of Shfah grandees.

Aurangzeb next worked the ruin of the Persian grandees. Akbar had warmly welcomed all exiles from Persia, placed them in high commands,¹⁵ and

¹⁴ Manouchi through Catrou.

¹⁵ Bernier states that the Moghuls chose none but men with fair complexions for the higher commands.

assigned them hereditary estates out of the crown lands.¹⁶ Aurangzeb hated them because they were Shíahs. He resolved to resume their lands. At first he examined the titles, and only resumed the land when there was an informality in the grant. Subsequently he resumed the remainder on the score of religion. "The Persians," he said, "are united to us by the Koran; they have separated themselves from us by their errors about the succession to the Khalifat; it is therefore only right that they should be separated from us altogether." Accordingly the Persians were deprived of their lands and sent to Kashmír. They were forced to live on such pensions as were assigned them.

Aurangzeb brought his spy establishment to perfection. Under Moghul rule news-writers were maintained in every township to report all that occurred. Under previous Emperors the news-writers were often in collusion with the local officers. But Aurangzeb kept a constant watch. His knowledge was so perfect of all that was going on, that many believed he acquired it by supernatural agencies.¹⁷

Aurangzeb was proud of his reforms. He boasted of them in letters to his father. The captive sovereign wrote an indignant reply; it was circulated among the grandees, and caused the Emperor much

¹⁶ Manouchi, through Catrou, insists, like all other contemporary writers, that the Moghuls were the sole lords of the soil. He adds, that the grant of hereditary lands to the Persian immigrants was altogether exceptional.

¹⁷ Manouchi, through Catrou, tells the story of a soldier who had lost a horse for which he was responsible to his captain. Accordingly he disguised himself as a fakir, buried the horse, and took up his abode over the grave, pretending that it was the tomb of some holy saint. In this manner he subsisted on the alms of passers-by. Aurangzeb discovered the deception and executed the false fakir.

The story has no historical significance. It is told in other quarters without any reference to Aurangzeb. Its authenticity is doubtful.

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uncasiness. Mahábat Khan, the Moghul governor of Kábul, rebuked Aurangzeb for his ill-treatment of his father. The Emperor swallowed the affront for awhile, but never forgot it. He removed Mahábat Khan from Kábul to prevent his intriguing with the Shah of Persia. He posted Mahábat Khan to the government of Guzerat, where he would be under more immediate control.¹⁸

Dealings with
Shah Jehan.

Aurangzeb seems to have been scared by the rebuke which he received from Mahábat Khan. At any rate, he changed his tone towards his father. He softened the rigour of his father's captivity, and sent him presents from Delhi. Shah Jehan was alarmed at this unexpected kindness, and suspected that some evil was brewing. At last Aurangzeb demanded the jewels that his father had taken with him into his captivity. Shah Jehan saw at once the reasons for his son's kindness; he threatened to break up the jewels with a pestle and mortar. Aurangzeb never repeated the request, but appointed a eunuch to keep a watchful eye on the jewels.¹⁹

Spite against a
tutor.

Another incident helps to bring out the character of Aurangzeb. When a boy he had been educated by a tutor named Malik Salih. He had a boy's grudge

¹⁸ Father Catrou professes to give the substance of Mahábat Khan's letter to Aurangzeb. In this letter Mahábat Khan admits the foibles of Shah Jehan, his love of pleasure, and scandalous excesses. "When," he writes, "Shah Jehan sat upon the throne to administer justice, few carried their complaints to him, because he was peaceful himself and inspired peace in the minds of others. When you, sire, take your seat, the tribunal resounds with a thousand discordant voices, because your rule is so severe that evil natures are filled with a desire for vengeance."

This letter does not appear to be authentic. It is not written in the style in which a Moghul grandee would address a Padishah.

¹⁹ Manouchi through Catrou. Tavernier tells the same story, but with different details. He says that Begum Sahib saved the jewels, as she wanted them for herself. Indian Travels, Book ii., chap. 7.

against this man. He thought the tutor showed more favour to Dara and Murad than to himself; he also suspected that Malik Salih had set Shah Jehan against him.

Malik Salih had been living for many years at Kábul on a pension which he received from the Moghul court. When Aurangzeb came to the throne this pension was stopped. The old tutor was unconscious of any ill-will on the part of his former pupil. He thought there was some mistake; he went to Delhi to freshen up the memory of Aurangzeb as regards his services. He was three months at Delhi before he obtained an audience. At last a day was fixed. All the learned men at the court, and all the tutors of the imperial household, were present in the audience hall. To the utter surprise of the tutor, he was treated by Aurangzeb to the following lecture:—

“Princes must have tutors just as infants must have wet-nurses. People know how to choose a wet-nurse; they pick out a strong-bodied woman, and all goes well. They do not know how to choose a tutor; they often take a man who is more learned than wise, who burdens the memory, and never forms the mind.

“When I was a boy, I was taught the language of the Koran; my mind was wearied with the rules of Arabic grammar; no one turned my heart to virtue by setting before me the examples of great men or the victories of my illustrious ancestors. I learnt a little of Hindustan, its towns, provinces, and revenues, but that was all.

“Surely there were other nations with whom I ought to have been acquainted. Why was I not taught the manners, customs, and interests of Persia? Why was I not told the history of my Tartar fore-

CHAP. VII. fathers? Their descendants occupy all the thrones of Asia. Why was I not taught something of Africa, where the Ottomans have established their dominion? Or of Europe, which supplies me with eminent Firingiz? Why was I told that the Emperor of France was a Raja of the second class; that Holland was a great empire; that England was larger than France? Why was I not shown a map of China, where Tartar princes like myself have conquered a wise and industrious people?

Condemnation.

"Such studies would have been worthy of a prince destined to become master of Hindustan! My youth should have been occupied with the stratagems of war, the arts of policy, the different ways of attacking or defending strongholds. From you I ought to have learned the art of governing provinces. These were your duties; did you ever fulfil them? Had I received any benefit from you, I would have shown my gratitude. As it is, I can only dismiss you as the most worthless of my servants, who has done me more injury than all the others, and whose face I never wish to see again."²⁰

Secret malice.

The speech of Aurangzeb had been carefully prepared; it was soon promulgated throughout the empire. Flatterers applauded it to the skies. Wiser men saw the malignant spirit which dictated it. Malik Salih had probably taught Aurangzeb to the best of his ability. No one but a European tutor could have taught him much more. Not even a European tutor could have taught him the arts of government and war.

Aurangzeb is said to have revenged another old

²⁰ Manouchi through Catrou. Bernier has preserved some imperfect reports of the same speech. Khafi Khan had no knowledge of it.

injury. When a young man he had been sent with an army to conquer Balkh.²¹ He had been defeated, humiliated, and subjected to severe privations. When he had established himself on the throne of Hindustan, the Sultan of Balkh sent an embassy with presents to congratulate him on his accession. The Sultan was afraid lest Aurangzeb should march against him with the whole force of the Moghul empire. Aurangzeb had no stomach for another expedition against Balkh, but he is charged with having resented his defeat on the Tartar ambassadors.²²

Whilst Aurangzeb was carrying out his reforms in Hindustan, he was not unmindful of the Dekhan. For many years he had been Viceroy in the Dekhan. He had given his name to the city of Aurangabad. Before the fratricidal war the Dekhan had been the principal sphere of his ambition.

The Dekhan is the central zone of India lying between Hindustan and the Peninsula. On the north it is bounded by the river Nerbudda; on the south, by the river Kistna. East and west it is bounded by the sea.

The Muhammadan Dekhan was the square mass of tableland in the centre of the zone. On the west was the mountain territory of the Konkan to the back of Bombay. On the east were the hills and jungles of

²¹ Balkh, the ancient Bactria, is a famous region, but little known to modern geography. It lies ensconced between the Himalayas and river Oxus. It was there that Alexander the Great lost his heart to Roxana, the fair maiden of Bactria. In modern times it has been a bone of contention between Afghanistan and Bokhara. It never belonged to the Moghul Emperors of Hindustan.

²² Manouchi through Catrou. Bernier denies the fact that the Balkh envoys were insulted. The matter is of no consequence. There was also a sham embassy from the King of Abyssinia. It is described at considerable length by Manouchi and Bernier, but the event is devoid of historical interest or significance.

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Gondwana, which at this period were out of the pale of history.²³ The Muhammadan Dekhan was the causeway which ran from Hindustan towards the Peninsula; it was bounded on one side by mountains, and on the other side by jungles; it was the great highway by which, at different intervals, the conquerors of Hindustan have marched towards the south to plunder the Hindú Rajas of the Peninsula.

Bijápur and
Golkonda.

The Moghul province of the Dekhan occupied the northern half of this causeway. The southern half was occupied by the Muhammadan kingdoms of Bijápur and Golkonda. These two kingdoms blocked up the advance of the Moghuls into the Peninsula. For many years Aurangzeb was bent on the conquest of Bijápur and Golkonda. The two Sultans were Muhammadans, but Aurangzeb detested their creed. They were more or less Shíahs, and the Persian element prevailed in both kingdoms. To make matters worse, the two courts were Hinduised by the employment of Hindú officials.

Rise of
Mahrattas.

Aurangzeb's early schemes of conquest were thwarted by his father, Shah Jehan. Meantime a cloud was rising in the western Gháts. The Mahrattas of the Konkan were becoming troublesome. Sivaji, the Mahratta chief, was becoming the terror of the Dekhan. He was already a thorn in the side of Bijápur; he was doomed to become a thorn in the side of the Moghul.

The Konkan.

The Konkan has always had a history of its own. In ancient times it was a seat of civilisation. Roman merchants traded at its ports; Brahman sages founded

²³ This easterly region is shrouded in a mist of legend. It was a *terra incognita* to Aurangzeb. In the present day it is known by the name of Nagpore and the Central Provinces. Until the administration of Sir Richard Temple in the Central Provinces, it was almost a blank in the map of India.

temples and hermitages in the secluded mountains. CHAP. VII.
Subsequently the ports swarmed with pirates, whilst
the mountains were the strongholds of bandits.

Nominally the Konkan was a province of Bījāpur; Origin of Sivaji.
practically the Konkan was ruled by a line of chief-
tains, more or less independent, who were known as
Mahrattas. The forefathers of Sivaji were the illegi-
timate offspring of some Rajpūt Raja; they were
counted among the vassals of the Sultan of Bījāpur.
Sivaji himself acknowledged the superiority of Bījā-
pur, but lived in rude independence in his mountain
fortresses.

Sivaji was the type of a Hindú freebooter—a happy Character of
Sivaji.
mixture of superstition and audacity. He was strict
in the worship of Hindú gods, and reverential towards
Brahmans; he was gifted with the intelligence, en-
terprise, and restless energy of the bandit. Outlaw
as he was, he had a tinge of Rajpūt blood. He treated
women with respect; he never insulted the religion
of the Koran.²⁴ But he wanted the pride, the bearing,
the sense of honour, which make up the true Rajpūt.
He was a rude mountaineer, who could neither read
nor write. He was short and active, with long arms
and sharp eyes; he was cunning, faithless, treacherous,
without shame or scruples of any kind. He had some
genius for organisation; plundered on a regular
system; planned expeditions into the plains which
returned at intervals to the fortresses in the hills.
He spared villages and districts on being paid a cer-
tain blackmail, which amounted to about one-fourth
of the land revenue, and was known as *chouth*. He

²⁴ Khafi Khan hated the Mahrattas, but does justice to their good traits in
the character of Sivaji.

CHAP. VII. maintained a strict discipline amongst his bands of marauders.

Treachery and
assassination.

The proceedings of Sivaji and his Mahrattas caused much trouble at Bījāpur. At last the Sultan sent a large army to suppress Sivaji. The Bījāpur general held the Mahrattas in contempt. Sivaji played a game of artifice. He feigned to be in a panic of fear; begged forgiveness; promised obedience for the future; prayed for a private interview to make his submission, receive orders, and arrange about pay. The Bījāpur general was deceived, and consented to a lonely meeting. The details vary in different narratives. All agree that Sivaji carried a secret weapon ringed to his fingers, with steel hooks or spurs, known as tigers' claws. The Mahratta prostrated himself before the Mussulman; he rose up and stood in a respectful posture; he then drove the tigers' claws to the Mussulman's heart. The general fell dead. The Bījāpur army was seized with panic. The Mahrattas fell upon the invaders, routed them in all directions, and returned to their fortresses with the booty.

Aurangzeb's
alliance with
Sivaji.

This exploit was noised abroad throughout the Dekhan. Aurangzeb saw that Sivaji would prove a useful ally in the event of a war with Bījāpur. He was already beginning the war against his brothers which led to his obtaining the throne; and in the event of defeat he might find a refuge with Sivaji in the strongholds of the Konkan. He made friends with Sivaji, concluded a treaty, and ceded territory. The alliance reveals the utter hypocrisy of Aurangzeb. He was playing the part of a pious Muhammadan, a devout penitent, vowing to spend the rest of his life in tears and prayers at the tomb of the Prophet. At the same time he was planning a rebellion against his

father and a war against his brothers, and providing against defeat by securing a refuge with a Hindú brigand who worshipped idols. CHAP. VII.

The fratricidal war broke out. In course of time Aurangzeb became Emperor of Hindustan. He had overcome all his brothers, but he could not leave Delhi whilst his father was a prisoner at Agra. His old friend and supporter, Amír Jumla, had restored quiet in Bengal. Amír Jumla wanted to return to the Dekhan, to conquer Bijápur and Golkonda, and stamp out Sivaji. But Aurangzeb was jealous of Amír Jumla; he suspected that Amír Jumla wanted to found an independent kingdom in the Dekhan. Accordingly he sent Amír Jumla on a hopeless expedition against Assam, with orders to conquer the whole country as far as the Chinese frontier. Amír Jumla.

Aurangzeb appointed his uncle, Shaista Khan, to be Viceroy of the Dekhan. He disregarded his treaty with Sivaji, and told Shaista Khan to suppress the Mahrattas and their Raja. He ordered Jaswant Singh, Raja of Jodhpur, to join Shaista Khan with his Rajpút auxiliaries. He thus got rid of a dangerous man. Jaswant Singh was not loyal to Aurangzeb. He was strongly suspected of seeking to restore Shah Jehan to the Moghul throne. It was, therefore, a stroke of policy to send Jaswant Singh into the Dekhan to fight against the Mahrattas under the eye of Shaista Khan. Shaista Khan
and Jaswant
Singh.

Sivaji soon saw that Aurangzeb had broken faith with him; but breaches of faith were common enough in India. Sivaji did not take the field against the Moghuls. He permitted Shaista Khan to advance and capture the Mahratta fortress at Poona. The rains were about to begin. Shaista Khan built a Broken faith.

CHAP. VII. pavilion of wood at the foot of the fortress, for the accommodation of himself and his seraglio during the monsoon.²⁵

Coronation-day. The coronation-day of the Emperor was always kept as a festival throughout the Moghul empire. When the anniversary came round in 1663, Shaista Khan gave a great feast to his officers. Every three hours there was a symphony of musical instruments. Some men unknown told the band to make a special noise at twelve o'clock at night, in order to do honour to the festival.

Mahratta revenge.

Wine was not spared at the coronation feast. At midnight there was a deafening uproar of trumpets and kettledrums. When it was over, shrieks and screams were heard from the seraglio. A band of armed men had broken into the seraglio and made their way into the banquetting hall, followed by women and eunuchs. Shaista Khan was too drunk to comprehend what was going on. His son drew his sword and rushed upon the intruders, but received a stroke which severed his head from his shoulders. The intruders rushed upon Shaista Khan. The women saw that his life was in danger, and put out the lights. Friends and foes mingled in horrible disorder; random strokes fell on women and eunuchs. Shaista Khan lost a finger, but escaped from the pavilion and fled up the hill to the fortress of Poona.

Moghul panic.

Meanwhile there was a panic in the Moghul camp. Sivaji and his Mahrattas were plundering the tents and cutting down the flying soldiery. Havoc and confusion reigned supreme.

Next morning Jaswant Singh went to make his

²⁵ Manouchi through Catrou.

apologies to Shaista Khan. The Moghul general was not to be hoodwinked by the Rajpút. "I thought," he said, "that the Maharaja was in his Majesty's service when this evil befell me." Shaista Khan was assured in his own mind that Jaswant Singh was privy to the whole affair.²⁶

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Rajpút connivance.

Aurangzeb was enraged at the news. He recalled Shaista Khan, and sent him to govern Bengal in the room of Amír Jumla. Early in 1664 there was worse news of the Mahrattas. They had poured down the mountains to the sea and plundered the Moghul port at Surat. The English at Surat saved their factory by a brave resistance. One Englishman was taken prisoner, and carried off to the tent of Sivaji outside the town. The Mahratta Raja was at home; he was ordering heads and arms to be chopped off from unfortunate wretches who were suspected of concealing their hoards.²⁷ Such were the public acts of the illustrious founder of the Mahratta empire.

Mahratta atrocities.

²⁶ The narrative of the Mahratta attack on Shaista Khan and his camp is given on the authority of Manouchi through Catrou. A different story is told by Khafi Khan. Shaista Khan is said to have taken up his quarters in the town of Poona, in a house which had been built by Sivaji and occupied by Sivaji. The Mahrattas got into the town by joining a marriage procession. They made their way into the house through the cook-room. They subsequently made their escape, and were seen in the distance climbing a hill fortress by the light of torches.

This story is evidently the handiwork of some Mahratta Brahman. Khafi Khan probably picked it up during his travels in the Mahratta country. It is not credible that a Moghul nobleman, with a large seraglio, accustomed to every luxury, should have taken up his quarters in a Mahratta house.

Manouchi's account is far more simple and intelligible. He probably drew it up by the light of letters received from the seat of war. Manouchi, however, says nothing about the connivance of Jaswant Singh; that is given on the authority of Khafi Khan. It is easy to understand Jaswant Singh being concerned in an attack like that described in the text. It is difficult to understand how he could be concerned in a burglarious attack through a cook-room, like that described by Khafi Khan.

²⁷ English records at Surat, quoted by Grant Duff.

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Aurangzeb's
sickness.

The year 1664 is a turning-point in the reign of Aurangzeb. His health broke down; he sank into a debility which rendered him unconscious of all around him. His sister, Royshan Rai Begum, took entire charge of his chamber. The Tartar women kept constant guard over the door with swords and bows. So much secrecy was observed, that many believed that the Emperor was dead; not even the ladies of the seraglio knew whether Aurangzeb was dead or alive.

Ambition of Roy-
shan Rai Begum.

Royshan Rai Begum had laboured hard for Aurangzeb during the reign of Shah Jehan. It was mainly by her help that he gained the throne. After his accession she had become sole mistress of the seraglio. She resolved to provide for her own aggrandisement in the event of his death. The eldest son of Aurangzeb was nineteen years of age, born of a Rajpút Sultana; he is best known by his title of Shah Alam. The second son was a pretty boy of six, born of a Muhammadan Sultana; he is best known by the name of Azam Shah. Royshan Rai Begum resolved to set aside the eldest son, and place the second son, Azam Shah, upon the throne. She hoped by these means to rule the empire through a long minority. She addressed a hundred letters in favour of Azam Shah to the different Rajas, Viceroys, and governors of the empire. She took the signet of the empire from the finger of Aurangzeb, and stamped every letter with the seal.

Seraglio
intrigues.

Some suspicion of what was going on reached the ears of the ladies of the seraglio. The mother of the eldest son, Shah Alam, was a Rajpút princess, but she was first Sultana. She had married Aurangzeb when he was young, and had been allowed to burn incense before her idols in his seraglio; and she still possessed

much influence over Aurangzeb. She resolved to find out whether the Emperor was still living. She bribed the Tartar women, and gained admittance to the sick-room. She saw that Aurangzeb was still alive, but unconscious of her presence. At that moment Royshan Rai Begum caught sight of the intruder, rushed on her like a fury, tore her face till it bled, and forced her out of the room.²⁸

The first Sultana was bitterly mortified. She wrote to her son an account of all that had occurred. This Prince, as already said, is best known by his title of Shah Alam, or "King of the World." He had a palace and establishment of his own. He began to take measures for defeating the designs of his aunt in favour of Azam Shah.

Shah Alam, the Crown Prince.

At this time Jai Singh, Raja of Jaipur, was at Delhi. At such a crisis the Rajpút might have decided the fate of the empire. Shah Alam went to him and told him that Aurangzeb was dead; that he himself claimed the empire as his birthright; that he did not mean to cement the throne by the murder of his brothers; and that he was even willing to restore Shah Jehan. Jai Singh commended his intentions, deprecated the restoration of Shah Jehan, promised his support, but would not commit himself to any line of action until he knew for certain that Aurangzeb was dead. Shah Alam prostrated himself before the Raja, and took his leave with the same salutations as were customary to the Emperor.

Jai Singh.

Jai Singh was far too wary to risk the wrath of Aurangzeb. He spared no pains to learn the truth. He distributed thousands of rupees amongst the

Rajpút caution.

²⁸ Manouchi through Catrou.

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eunuchs of the palace. At last he had positive news that Aurangzeb was very ill but still alive. He refused to meddle with the claims of Shah Alam.

Grandeess over-
awed.

It was strange that throughout this period there were no attempts at an outbreak. Wild hopes were excited at Agra that Aurangzeb might die and Shah Jehan be restored to the throne of the Moghuls. Couriers were constantly going to Delhi for news, and as constantly returning with no news whatever. Every one was in mortal fear of Aurangzeb. The grandeess at Delhi and Agra looked at each other, but said nothing. Not a man dared to talk about the death of the Emperor or whisper a word about Shah Alam or Shah Jehan.

Aurangzeb's
recovery.

At length Aurangzeb began to recover. He was restored to consciousness, took an interest in public affairs, and managed to show himself to the Raja of Jaipur and a few of the grandeess. Suddenly he missed his signet ring. He accepted the excuses of his sister that it had fallen from his finger; but his suspicions were excited, and he resolved on discovering the truth at some more seasonable opportunity.

Public audience.

After a while Aurangzeb was able to take his seat upon the throne at a public audience. He had given orders that every one should be admitted, however simple their degree; and that all should approach him in the order of their rank. All the people of Delhi flocked to the palace to make their saláms. He edified all present by his expressions of piety. His sickness had been a warning from Heaven that he was only mortal; his recovery was a blessing from the Almighty. As a mark of gratitude he relieved Muhammadans from certain imposts which were still levied from Hindús. This was the first public indi-

cation of the policy of intolerance which was to bear such bitter fruit hereafter. CHAP. VII.

Aurangzeb grew more and more suspicious of his sister, Royshan Rai Begum. The ladies and eunuchs saw that she was under a cloud ; they had long hated her for her pride and ill-nature, and they were ready to repeat any story against her. Aurangzeb was told that his sister had taken the signet ring from his finger only to ensure the succession of the boy Azam Shah to the throne of the Moghuls ; that she would have aroused the empire to arms but for the universal fear which he had inspired as Emperor ; that she had kept his illness so secret, that no one knew whether he was alive or dead ; that she had insulted and assaulted the first Sultana for venturing to enter his sick-room.

Aurangzeb was alarmed at these expressions of ambition. He knew that his sister would shrink from nothing to gain her ends. He showed his displeasure whilst hiding his fears. He increased the dignity of the first Sultana ; gave her a new title, and lauded her for her patience under affliction. Such trifles are nothing in ordinary life, but they stir up the fiercest passions in the confined air of the seraglio. Royshan Rai Begum was so mortified that she begged to be allowed to leave the seraglio and live in a separate palace. Aurangzeb refused the request without betraying his feelings. He pretended that her presence was necessary for the superintendence of the education of his younger daughters. Counteraction.

Meanwhile the eldest daughter of Aurangzeb began to play a part in the seraglio. The daughters of the Moghul emperors had a strange destiny. Those born of Rajpút mothers were sometimes given in Aurangzeb's daughters.

CHAP. VII. marriage to Rajpút princes.²⁹ But a certain number, never exceeding three or four, were treated as princesses of the imperial blood, and were supposed to lead lives of celibacy. Spotless purity in single women is by no means an uncommon virtue; it is to be seen amongst Asiatic widows as well as in European spinsters; but amidst the surroundings of a seraglio it is often a mere question of bolts and bars.

Seraglio
scandals.

The scandalous lives of the two daughters of Shah Jehan, the sisters of Aurangzeb, have already been noticed. The elder, known as Begum Sahib, accompanied her father in his captivity at Agra. The younger, Roysan Rai Begum, had become the mistress of the seraglio of her brother Aurangzeb. But ambition could not quench her amorous fire. The porters and eunuchs were all at her mercy. Her amours were the talk of the eunuchs; and when it was known that she had provoked the displeasure of Aurangzeb, the talk soon reached the imperial ears.

Marriage of
Aurangzeb's
daughters.

Little is known of the daughters of Aurangzeb, but that little is very significant. Two of them were born of the Muhammadan Sultana, who had given birth to Azam Shah; they were married to state prisoners—one to a son of Dara and the other to a son of Murad.³⁰ Manouchi tells the story of the marriage. The mother bribed a fakir. Every Friday morning

²⁹ Some doubts on this point were expressed in a previous chapter. They have since been removed by the evidence of Catrou, based on the authority of Manouchi. It is distinctly stated that a daughter of Shah Jehan by a Rajpút mother was given in marriage to Jaswant Singh, the Raja of Jodhpur. This is not stated as an isolated fact, but as being in accordance with usage. The fact accounts for the professed loyalty of Jaswant Singh towards his father-in-law, Shah Jehan. The usage has been naturally ignored by orthodox Muhammadan historians. It had apparently ceased to be a usage in the reign of Aurangzeb.

³⁰ Elliot's History, vol. vii., p. 197. Manouchi through Catrou.

when Aurangzeb was going to the mosque, the fakir called upon him to give his daughters in marriage. Aurangzeb spoke to the fakir; pleaded the ill consequences of such marriages, and urged that they were contrary to the fundamental law of the Moghuls.³¹ The fakir replied that Muhammad, the Apostle of God, had given his daughter in marriage to the Prophet Ali, although he must have foreseen the terrible schism which would follow. Aurangzeb was convinced by this argument, and consented to the marriage of his daughters.³²

Fakhr-u-Nisá, the eldest daughter of Aurangzeb, was ^{Poison.} a more ambitious princess.³³ She remained single in the seraglio, and sought to supplant her aunt. For some time she is said to have shared in her aunt's gallantries. Then she quarrelled with her aunt. She helped to enlighten her father about his sister's irregularities. There was a private massacre of the aunt's lovers. According to Manouchi, they were put to death in a variety of ways, without any form of justice.³⁴ Royshan Rai Begum disappeared for ever from the scene. It was said that she was poisoned.³⁵

³¹ No traces are to be found of this so-called fundamental law of the Moghuls. There is reason for believing that it was a modern invention. The truth seems to be that there were grave difficulties in the way of securing husbands for such princesses. No Amír would willingly have married a daughter of the Emperor; she would have interfered with all his pleasures, ruled his other ladies with a rod of iron, and made him her slave for life.

³² There is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the story. There is, however, reason to believe that the fakir who acted a part was prompted by Aurangzeb himself. Father Catrou dwells somewhat warmly on the consolations which the captive princes derived from their union with the most beautiful princesses at court. This is rather suggestive in a monk.

³³ Fakhr-u-Nisá is the name given by Catrou. She is named Zebn Nisá Begum by Mussulman historians. See Elliot's History, vol. vii., p. 196.

³⁴ Manouchi says that one was poisoned, another killed by a venomous serpent, some were trampled to death by elephants, and some were cut down by the sword.

³⁵ Manouchi through Catrou. There is some doubt about the exact date of

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Fakhr-u-Nisá.

Fakhr-u-Nisá took her aunt's place in the seraglio. Henceforth she exercised an ascendancy over her father that was felt and known. She was worshipped as the dominant star of the Moghul.³⁶ She was born in 1639, consequently in 1664 she was twenty-five years of age.³⁷

Preparations for Kashmir.

Aurangzeb was still very far from well. The heat of Hindustan and scorching air of Delhi were against him. His daughter wanted him to go to the cool heights of Kashmir. She pressed the matter all the more warmly because she was eager to leave the seraglio, to travel through the provinces, to show the world the favour in which she stood with the Emperor, and the superb equipage in which she was to travel. The court physicians also recommended the Emperor to go to Kashmir. At last he gave his consent. The 6th of December 1664 was fixed for the departure.³⁸

Renewed terrors of Aurangzeb.

All Delhi was filled with preparations for the journey of the Emperor. At this period Aurangzeb fell

the death of this princess. It would appear from Manouchi that she died before the Emperor's journey to Kashmir. Bernier however describes Royshan Rai Begum going on the journey mounted on a stupendous Pegu elephant. It is impossible to reconcile such contradictions. Royshan Rai Begum may have perished during the journey, or the princess seen by Bernier may not have been Royshan Rai Begum, but some other lady, perhaps Fakhr-u-Nisá. It is certain that Bernier must have kept at a considerable distance from the seraglio.

³⁶ Manouchi through Catrou.

³⁷ Elliot's History, vol. vii., p. 196. This princess, under the name of Zebu Nisá, is praised as a poet by Muhammadan writers. She is said to have become thoroughly proficient in the Koran.

³⁸ Catrou says that the 6th of December "sixteen hundred and sixty" was the day of departure. This is a mistake, the word "four" has perhaps dropped out. Bernier not only says 1664, but dates his subsequent letters 1664 and 1665; and Bernier himself accompanied the expedition to Kashmir. The preceding dates are all fixed from Mahratta records and English records at Surat quoted by Grant Duff. Sivaji surprised Shaista Khan in 1663, plundered Surat in January 1664. Amir Jumla returned from Assam in 1663, died in 1664; the news reached Aurangzeb at Kashmir.

under the suspicion of a crime which long tarnished his memory. He was afraid to go to Kashmír whilst his father was alive at Agra. He appointed a governor of Agra on whom he could rely; he ordered a large army to encamp at Agra; still he was a prey to dismal fears, and sank into a melancholy which alarmed all around him.

At this crisis ambassadors arrived from Persia with menacing letters from the Shah. Aurangzeb tried to hide his uneasiness by a show of courtesy. Shah Abbas the Second, was a Súfí and a Shíah; his sympathies were with Shah Jehan, who was also a Shíah, and he hated Aurangzeb as a bigoted Sunní. He demanded the liberation of Shah Jehan. Persian embassy.

Aurangzeb was in sore straits. The Sherif of Mecca refused to acknowledge him; the Shah of Persia threatened him; he risked his life if he remained at Delhi; he risked his throne if he went to Kashmír. The death of Shah Jehan would remove all his troubles; but for a long time he shrank from the odium of parricide. At last he worked himself into the belief that the necessity justified the crime. He confided his troubles to his daughter; she could not see the matter in the same light; she revolted at the idea of putting her old grandfather to death. She had connived more or less at the death of her aunt, but then her aunt had been a rival in love and ambition. Poisoning a termagant of her own sex was a bagatelle; poisoning an aged prince, whom for years she had revered as a sovereign and a grandfather, was a crime that filled her with horror. Contemplated parricide.

Fakhr-u-Nisá tried hard to allay her father's fears. No one had attempted to seize the throne during his sickness; no one was likely to seize it during his ab- Remonstrances.

CHAP. VII. sence at Kashmír. His subjects, who revered him, had always despised Shah Jehan. The old man was seventy-five years of age ; she begged her father to let him spend his last days in peace.

Sore straits.

But Aurangzeb was not to be moved from his purpose. It was true that no one rebelled whilst he lay a helpless invalid at Delhi ; but no one was certain that he, the Emperor, might not appear at any moment at the head of his army. Absence at Kashmír was a very different matter. Rebels would know that no news could reach Aurangzeb for weeks, and that more weeks must elapse before he could return to Delhi ; during the interval he might lose the empire for ever.

Alarm at Agra.

Aurangzeb was case-hardened against remorse or shame. He had caused the death of three brothers, an eldest son,³⁹ and a sister ; but he wanted to justify the crime of parricide. Alarming news from Agra drove him to take action. The governor at Agra had insulted the imperial captive ; in return Shah Jehan struck him in the face with a pair of slippers. The governor ordered the guards to arrest the prisoner ; not a man stirred, not a man would lay his hands upon a sovereign who for years had been revered as a deity.

Sinister designs.

The disaffection at Agra sealed the fate of Shah Jehan ; but the first blow was averted. A cordial was sent to the physician of Shah Jehan ; the physician was a Moghul who had long been in attendance on his imperial master. He was bound to that master by a loyal attachment which was not

³⁹ The fate of this eldest son, Mahimud, was told in the previous chapter. Shah Alam was now the eldest son.

uncommon in Moghul households. He knew that the cordial was poison, and drank it himself; he sank into a lethargy and died without pain. CHAP. VII.

Aurangzeb tried another tack. He sent presents and submissive letters to Shah Jehan. The old man was growing weak and foolish; he sent some jewels to Aurangzeb. In return, Aurangzeb sent him a European physician. The name of this European has not been preserved. He had been employed in more than one act of poisoning, and had been advanced to high dignity in the empire. The death of Shah Jehan was soon announced. How he perished is one of the many mysteries of the Moghul régime. Death of Shah Jehan.

There are grave suspicions that Aurangzeb was guilty of parricide. No one was ignorant of the fact that the death of Shah Jehan occurred at the right moment to allow Aurangzeb to start from Delhi at the appointed time. Various accounts were given of his death. One thing alone was certain; the death of Shah Jehan relieved Aurangzeb of the deep melancholy under which he had long been labouring. Fakhr-u-Nisá congratulated her father on the event. She feigned to know nothing of the guilt of the European physician. She ascribed the death of the old Emperor to the care of the Almighty for the safety of the empire. Grave suspicions.

There was a magnificent funeral at Agra. Aurangzeb hurried to the city by water in order to conduct the remains of his father to the famous shrine of the Taj Mahal. The body was laid on a splendid car. The army marched before it arrayed in cotton, which was the sign of mourning in India. Aurangzeb followed the corpse in solemn sadness; his eyes were filled Funeral at Agra.

CHAP. VII. with tears; but what was passing in his heart was known only to a higher power.⁴⁰

SECOND PERIOD: *Aurangzeb at Kashmîr, Delhi, and Kâbul, 1665-80.*

Ambitious
dreams.

At Kashmîr Aurangzeb was another man. He threw off all the languor, melancholy, and anxiety which oppressed him in the hot palace at Delhi. His predecessors had built a charming palace on the margin of the lake of Kashmîr. In those cool retreats he gave himself up to pleasure in the society of his ladies. Soothed by their caresses and flatteries, he indulged in ambitious dreams of war and policy. He busied himself with Europeans; he thought to establish a maritime power which should cope with the ships that came from Europe. In imagination he saw himself the conqueror of China, the ally of Persia, the sovereign of all India as far as the southern ocean. Vision after vision faded away; but throughout the interval of rest and ease, the active brain of Aurangzeb was never still.

European
settlements.

In 1665 the Europeans had no territorial settlements in any part of the Moghul dominion. They had factories at Surat on the western coast, and at Hugli in Bengal; but all their territorial possessions were out-

⁴⁰ The death of Shah Jehan is accompanied with difficulties which defy the most patient and exhaustive research. Men knew it, but were afraid to speak about it. Bernier accompanied Aurangzeb to Kashmîr in the full belief that Shah Jehan was alive at Agra. Khafi Khan says that Shah Jehan died in January 1666. Tavernier, who was in the Dekhan at the time, says that he heard of his death at the end of 1666. It will be seen hereafter that the Shah of Persia was suspicious of the crime very shortly after the death of Shah Jehan.

side the Moghul empire. Bombay bordered on the Hindú kingdom of Sivaji, the Mahratta; Madras bordered on the Muhammadan kingdom of the Sultan of Golkonda; the Portuguese settlement at Goa, the largest European colony in India, bordered on the Muhammadan kingdom of the Sultan of Bijápur.

In those days the regular European trade in the East was carried on by Portugal under the name of the king, and by England and Holland under the name of their respective East India Companies. But there was a large irregular trade carried on by European adventurers on their private account, without any sanction of king or charter. They were called interlopers and pirates. Their hand was against every man, and every man's hand was against them.

*Privileged
traders and
interlopers.*

At Kashmír Aurangzeb heard that one of the imperial ships that carried pilgrims to Mecca had been captured by a European pirate. This was no uncommon disaster in the seventeenth century. No Asiatics can withstand Europeans on the high seas; and ships loaded with Muhammadan pilgrims and much treasure would be regarded as fair prize by so-called Christian pirates. Unfortunately some of the pilgrims were ladies belonging to the imperial seraglio; and it was reported that they had been rudely handled by their European captors.

European piracy.

Aurangzeb was much exasperated at the insult. He resolved to build a fleet for the suppression of piracy. His vizier warned him that he had no sailors, no pilots, no marines; that one ship manned with Europeans would rout twenty ships manned by Moghuls; that if he employed Europeans, they might slip away with ships and cargoes, and there would be no one to follow them. But Aurangzeb was bitten with a mania for

Moghul marine.

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building ships on European principles. He resolved that his subjects should be taught and trained on the European system.

Attempt and failure.

An Italian jeweller, named Ortensio Bronzoni, succeeded in building two ships. They were ornamented after Moghul taste, manned with Europeans, and launched on the lake of Kashmír. On a certain day the two ships engaged in a mock combat before the palace windows. The Emperor looked on with all his ladies. He saw the ease and dexterity with which the ships were handled. He felt that no amount of teaching would impart the same quickness, nerve, and energy to his subjects. Accordingly he abandoned the design.

Assam expedition.

By this time Aurangzeb's scheme for conquering China came to an untimely end. At first Amír Jumla encountered little difficulty in invading Assam. He was supported by a Portuguese flotilla on the Brahmaputra river. He captured the frontier fortress of Azo. He plundered the tombs of the Assam Rajas, and found much treasure.⁴¹ He then advanced twenty days' march through Assam to the Chinese frontier.

Chinese frontier.

There were some difficulties in passing over the mountains, but the valley beyond was an enchanting region. The climate was pleasant, and there was abundance of grain and fruit. The capital of Assam was named Ghergong.⁴² It was situated on a declivity near the Chinese frontier, and was enriched by the

⁴¹ The tombs of the Assam Rajas at Azo were subterranean vaults. The Rajas were not burnt after the Hindú fashion, but were buried with all their treasures, and also with their favourite wives and concubines, after the manner of the ancient Scythians. See Khafi Khan in Elliot's History, vol. vii. ; also Tavernier's Indian Travels, Book iii., chap. 17.

⁴² The ruins of Ghergong were on the Dikho river, which falls into the Brahmaputra river from the south. In the present day the Dikho river is a very long distance from the Chinese frontier.

trade of China. The Moghuls captured and sacked the city. Amír Jumla reported that he was about to invade China. Aurangzeb saw himself already in possession of China.

From this point there was nothing but disaster. The provisions of the city were consumed. The rains began with unusual violence; the rivers overflowed their banks; the whole country round Ghergong was a deluge. The Moghuls suffered horrible privations. Pestilence followed the famine. Every day numbers of corpses were thrown from the ramparts upon the surrounding waters.

After some months the waters subsided. The invasion of China was out of the question. Amír Jumla beat a retreat to Bengal. The way was strewn with corpses. The plains were intersected with canals which had been filled during the rains. The mountains were blocked up by bands of Assamese with poisoned arrows to their bows. Amír Jumla was smitten with mortal disease. The Portuguese flotilla carried the remains of the army to Bengal. Amír Jumla died shortly afterwards. On his death-bed he sent the largest diamond in India as a present to the Emperor.⁴³

Aurangzeb was mortified at the loss of his army, but consoled by the death of Amír Jumla. He had long suspected Amír Jumla of sinister designs; and he rejoiced at knowing that he was out of the way.

Aurangzeb was forced to give his attention to Persian affairs. Shah Abbas the Second was a warlike

⁴³ This diamond was probably the Koh-i-Nor, now in the possession of her Majesty. It was carried off by Nadir Shah at the sack of Delhi in 1738-39. It subsequently fell into the hands of the Amirs of Kábul. Runjít Singh forced Shah Shuja to give it up. The English took possession of it after the conquest of the Punjab.

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prince, and Aurangzeb was afraid of him. The Shah suspected that the journey of the Moghul Emperor to Kashmír was a blind for making some attack on Persian territory.⁴⁴ Accordingly, the Shah began to mass troops in Kandahar. Aurangzeb hoped to quiet down these hostile demonstrations by sending an embassy with presents to Shah Abbas.

Moghul embassy
to Persia.

The embassy of Aurangzeb to the Shah of Persia must have made some stir at the time. The old rivalry between Persia and the Moghul was intensified by the religious antagonism between the Shíah and the Sunní. The Moghul ambassador was treated with a studied rudeness and contempt, which showed that the Shah was bent on war. The ambassador had prepared a long speech of compliments and flatteries to be delivered at the first audience. Shah Abbas received him on horseback, and rode away the moment he began his speech. When the presents were delivered, the Shah contemptuously distributed them amongst his officers. At other audiences the Shah descanted on the hypocrisy of Aurangzeb; openly charged him with parricide; laughed at his title of "Conqueror of the World," which was engraved on the Moghul coins. At the final audience, the beard of the ambassador was set on fire by a page; and the ambassador was dismissed with a challenge to Aurangzeb to come out and fight the Shah in Kábul.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ At this period Kábul belonged nominally to the Moghul, whilst Kandahar was Persian territory. Shah Abbas probably suspected Aurangzeb of some design on Kandahar.

⁴⁵ Manouchi, through Catrou, gives the best narrative of this embassy. His account is confirmed by Thevenot and Tavernier. Khafí Khan says nothing about it.

Thevenot says that on one occasion the ambassador refused to take wine, but was induced to smoke a pipe (Travels, Part ii., chap. 11).

Tavernier was under the impression that Shah Jehan was still alive, but

By this time Aurangzeb had returned from Kashmír to Delhi. He was in no mood for smiling on the ambassador, for he had been deeply mortified by the outturn of Mahratta affairs. He received the ambassador with bitter reproaches. "Why had he permitted the loss of his beard? Why had he not avenged the insult by stabbing the Shah to the heart?" The ambassador was doomed; he was executed the same day; he was bitten by a snake whose venom always killed.

Shah Abbas kept his word. He took the field with sixty thousand of the finest cavalry of Asia. Aurangzeb assembled fresh armies round Delhi. He warned the tributary Rajas to be ready with their respective armies at the first summons. He treated the challenge of Shah Abbas with contempt, but displayed so much personal cowardice as to excite strange murmurs. He certainly was in extreme peril, but his good fortune did not fail him. Suddenly Shah Abbas died of a disorder of his throat, brought on or aggravated by excessive drinking.⁴⁶

It will now be necessary to revert to the progress of Mahratta affairs. In 1663 Sivaji had committed the onslaught on Aurangzeb's uncle, Shaista Khan. In 1664 he had plundered Surat.

In 1664, before Aurangzeb left Delhi for Kashmír, he had sent a large army against Sivaji. It comprised a Muhammadan force under a Muhammadan general, and a Rajpút force under Jai Singh of Jaipur. The details of the operations that followed are of no

reports that Shah Abbas charged Aurangzeb with parricide. Tavernier confirms the statement that the ambassador lost his beard, but says it was shaved off (*Travels in India*, Book ii., chap. 7).

⁴⁶ Manouchi through Catrou. Tavernier shows that Shah Abbas died in 1666. This helps to clear up the chronology.

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interest; but Jai Singh was told to negotiate with Sivaji, to induce him to make his submission to the Moghul, and to offer him the post of Viceroy of the Dekhan under the Moghul. Aurangzeb had calculated that Sivaji would rely on the good faith of the Rajpút when he would refuse to believe the word of a Muhammadan. For himself, Aurangzeb trusted no one. He would not allow Jai Singh to leave Delhi without leaving his eldest son as hostage for his fidelity.

Deception.

Aurangzeb judged correctly. Jai Singh was deceived by the Moghul, and Sivaji was deceived by the Rajpút. Sivaji never for a moment doubted his fitness for the post of Viceroy of the Dekhan; he was dazzled by the prospect of being Viceroy under the Moghul. He soon agreed to go to Delhi with his eldest son, Sambhaji; to tender his submission to Aurangzeb; to receive investiture of the exalted command.

Treachery.

There was treachery all round, excepting in the heart of Jai Singh. The Muhammadan general knew the trickery of Aurangzeb, whereas the Rajpút believed that Aurangzeb was in earnest in his offers to Sivaji. The Muhammadan wanted to assassinate Sivaji in order to win the favour of the Emperor. Jai Singh refused to listen to any such proposal. But his belief was shaken in the good faith of Aurangzeb; and he wrote to his son at Delhi to keep an eye on the safety of Sivaji.

Sivaji at Delhi.

The Mahratta reached Delhi swelling with pride. He knew that he was feared. Indeed, he might well imagine that Aurangzeb had need of his services in the expected conquest of Bijápur and Golkonda.

Aurangzeb's
guile.

Aurangzeb had very different intentions. He had ensnared the "mountain rat" only to humble him and

destroy him; to avenge the onslaught on Shaista Khan and plunder of Surat. CHAP. VII.

Sivaji expected to be petted as a welcome guest. He found himself neglected and held in contempt. No one greeted him on his arrival; he was only told to remain in his tents near the gate of the palace. All inquiries respecting an audience were put off with evasions and excuses. Sivaji's mortification.

After a weary delay, a day was fixed for the audience. All who were conversant with the Moghul court were conscious that unusual preparations were being made to overawe the Mahratta. The audience was held in the splendid hall of the Dewan-i-Khas, with its massive columns of white marble picked out with birds and flowers in precious stones. Aurangzeb himself departed from his usual custom. Instead of appearing in simple attire on an ordinary throne, he entered the hall in a blaze of jewels, and took his seat on the peacock throne of Shah Jehan. Sivaji's audience.

The great hall was crowded with grandees. They were ranged according to their rank on three successive platforms. The first platform was covered with gold, the second with silver, the third with marble. Sivaji was admitted to the golden platform, but directed to take the lowest place. He knew that he was not ranked as Viceroy of the Dekhan. He could not master his anger. He openly charged Aurangzeb with a breach of faith. He turned to the grandees above him, and called them cowards and women; he had defeated them in battle, but here they were placed above him. He then left the platform, and stalked out of the palace. He had bearded the lion in his den, and was reckless of the consequences. Wrath of the Mahratta.

It is difficult to realise the effect of this sudden out-

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Self-control of
Aurangzeb.

burst of wrath upon the assembled courtiers. There had been one or two outbreaks of Rajpûts at the palace during the reign of Shah Jehan; but the bold defiance of the great Moghul by a rude Mahratta from the mountains was beyond all experience. Every one expected that Sivaji would be beheaded. Every eye was turned upon Aurangzeb. The Emperor had listened to the Mahratta with perfect tranquillity. A malicious smile lighted up his face when the grandees were charged with cowardice, but that was all. Deceit was habitual to Aurangzeb. He could hide his rage with smiles, or veil his joy with sadness and tears. Little could be learned by those who watched his countenance of what was going on within.

Sivaji
entrapped.

Aurangzeb had still a part to play. He sent his minister to pacify Sivaji. The angry Mahratta was told that newcomers were never placed in the first rank; that though he was to be appointed Viceroy of the Dekhan, he had not been invested; that justice would be done to his merits hereafter. Sivaji feigned to be satisfied, but was soon subjected to more trickery. A guard was placed over him under pretence of shielding him from the wrath of the offended grandees. He was requested to remain in his tents until a palace could be prepared for him.

The escape.

A palace was indeed prepared, not for entertaining Sivaji, but for murdering him. The plot was discovered by the son of Jai Singh. The escape of Sivaji from Delhi is told with a variety of romantic details. He and his son are said to have been carried out of Delhi in a couple of empty fruit hampers, and to have reached their mountain homes in the disguise of religious mendicants. The mode of escape is of no consequence to history. The English merchants on the

Malabar coast observed, in a letter dated September 1666 : "If it be true that Sivaji hath escaped, Aurangzeb will quickly hear it to his sorrow."⁴⁷

Aurangzeb must have been exceedingly wroth at the escape of his prey. He devised new schemes for entrapping the "mountain rat," but the difficulties had multiplied. Sivaji was armed against every artifice. Never again would he believe the word of Moghul or Rajpút; never again would he trust to oaths, whether sworn on the Koran or on Ganges water.

Nevertheless the Emperor preferred stratagem to war, or only declared war in order to conceal a stratagem. He sent another army into the Dekhan under the command of his eldest son, Shah Alam. It comprised a Muhammadan force under a Muhammadan named Diler Khan, and a Rajpút force under Jai Singh of Jaipur. But the Prince Imperial, Shah Alam, was generalissimo.

Shah Alam was to raise a sham rebellion against his father; to invite the co-operation of Sivaji; to ensnare him in his toils in order to destroy him. Such a rebellion was in strict accordance with Moghul precedents. The eldest son of every Emperor from Akbar downwards had rebelled against his father. There was no reason to doubt that Sivaji would eagerly join in such a rebellion against the Emperor Aurangzeb.

Aurangzeb had other results to work out by this sham rebellion. He wanted to know how far the army was disaffected, and to take measures accordingly. He had a third object of the utmost importance, but that will appear in the sequel.

⁴⁷ Manouchi through Catrou. Grant Duff's "History of the Mahrattas." The letter quoted in the text fixes an approximate date.

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Sham treachery.

About 1667 the army of the Moghul moved into the Dekhan. Shah Alam fixed his headquarters at Aurangabad. It was soon evident that there was treachery in the air. Shah Alam remained inactive at Aurangabad; he forbade all raids on Sivaji's territories. To make matters worse, Sivaji was ravaging the Dekhan up to the neighbourhood of Aurangabad.

More artifice.

Reports soon reached Delhi that Shah Alam was afraid of Sivaji; that he was cooling the ardour of the soldiers by delays, and wasting the time of the officers by festivities. Aurangzeb feigned to those around him to be much concerned at these rumours. He wrote letters to the generals in the Dekhan, begging them to watch the conduct of Shah Alam; to report his movements, but obey him in all things. At the same time he authorised Shah Alam to begin negotiations with Sivaji.⁴⁸

Success.

Shah Alam sent an officer to Sivaji to explain that he was about to rebel. The coming revolt was noised abroad. Shah Alam sounded his officers; they all, with one exception, agreed to join him in the rebellion. The Rajpúts were especially enthusiastic; they all knew that Shah Alam's mother was a Rajpút. The one exception was Diler Khan, who commanded the Muhammadan army. He suspected artifice and ran off to Delhi.⁴⁹

Rebel
agreement.

Shah Alam drew up an agreement committing all his officers to the rebellion; all signed it excepting

⁴⁸ Manouchi, who relates all these details through Catrou, was evidently on the spot and in the confidence of Shah Alam. He says, what may be readily believed, that Shah Alam was so suspicious of his father, Aurangzeb, that he would not open up negotiations with Sivaji until he received a written authority from the Emperor.

⁴⁹ Manouchi says that Diler Khan was the man of all others whom Aurangzeb desired to catch tripping; and that the Emperor had Diler Khan specially in his eye when he concocted the sham rebellion.

Diler Khan. One copy was sent to Aurangzeb and another to Sivaji. CHAP. VII.

The Mahratta had become preternaturally suspicious since his escape from Delhi. He readily signed the agreement to support the rebellion ; he applauded the resolution of Shah Alam to the skies ; but he did not move ; he waited for circumstances ; he bided his time. Mahratta suspicion.

Shah Alam played his part to perfection. He led the army some marches towards Delhi. He issued proclamations that he was going to dethrone his father and take possession of the empire ; he promised governments to his generals, increased pay to his officers, remissions of tribute and abolition of imposts to the people at large. Shah proclamations.

Sivaji had his spies at the camp of Shah Alam as well as at the court of Delhi. He heard that envoys from the Emperor had ordered Shah Alam not to cross the river Chambal. He also heard that Shah Alam had dismissed the envoys with contempt, and was pushing on towards the river. So far the Prince Imperial seemed to be in earnest. But suspicious news came from Delhi. The Emperor expressed anger but showed no uneasiness. This was enough for Sivaji ; he made up his mind not to leave the Konkan. He pressed Shah Alam to go on to Delhi ; for himself, he would stay in the Dekhan, maintain order, and keep a retreat open for Shah Alam in the event of any disaster. Sivaji's discovery.

Shah Alam was foiled. He begged Sivaji to join him ; he said he wanted Sivaji to command the army in the room of Diler Khan. The Mahratta refused the bait ; he had been caught once by the offer of the viceroyalty of the Dekhan. He replied by flattery Moghul foiled.

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and compliments; he began to see the hand of Aurangzeb in the game of rebellion.

Plot explodes.

There was no further hope of catching Sivaji. The farce was played out on the bank of the Chambal. Preparations were in progress for crossing the river. An envoy from the Emperor rode up to Shah Alam, seized the bridle of his horse, and ordered him in the Emperor's name to return to Aurangabad. Shah Alam pretended to faint; he changed colour; he said he would return to Aurangabad. The rebels were in dismay. They might have torn the Prince to pieces, but there was no union among them; each man suspected his fellows. To crown all, an army of twenty thousand fresh troops suddenly appeared under the command of Diler Khan. Resistance was in vain. All the rebel officers were punished by death or exile; all the rebel soldiers were drafted to other districts to serve under other generals.

Shah Alam
disarmed.

Aurangzeb had failed to entrap Sivaji, but he had effected an object of greater importance than the capture of the Mahratta. Every Moghul Emperor of Hindustan had suffered from the rebellion or usurpation of his eldest son. Aurangzeb had already put his eldest son to death for rebellion. Shah Alam succeeded as heir-apparent; henceforth he was crippled and disarmed. He could never rebel against his father. Not a Moghul or Rajpút would trust him. He had betrayed them once; he never had an opportunity of betraying them again.

Dekhan entan-
glement.

The further progress of affairs in the Dekhan is for a while an entangled web. There is a jungle of obsolete details, but no history. Treachery underlies the whole, but the clue is obscure. There was some sort of peace or understanding between the Moghuls and

the Mahrattas ; some large concessions were made to Sivaji. To all appearance Sivaji was bribing Moghul and Rajpút generals to leave him alone, while he pursued a predatory career in the Dekhan and Peninsula.

Aurangzeb prohibits history : reasons.

In 1668, after Aurangzeb had been ten years on the throne, he issued an edict prohibiting his subjects from writing the history of his reign. This prohibition is another mystery in the life of Aurangzeb. A religious reason was assigned ; men were to set their hearts on heavenly things, and not on things of this world. All this, coming from the lips of Aurangzeb, was mere flummery. Every Moghul sovereign took a special interest in the history of his own reign ; he sought to exaggerate what was good, and extenuate what was evil. All the so-called memoirs of Moghuls, from Timúr to Jehangír, bear marks of being garbled. But the reign of Aurangzeb could not be glossed over. He was strongly suspected of the murder of his father, of having shown the white feather to Shah Abbas, of having concluded a disgraceful peace with the Mahratta Raja. Such may have been the secret reasons which induced Aurangzeb to prohibit history. He had already abolished music in order to suppress satirical songs, and it is easy to believe that he abolished history for a like purpose. The edict was certainly obeyed. Khafi Khan confesses that after the tenth year of the reign he relies for his facts chiefly on memory and hearsay. Henceforth the chief authorities for the history of the reign of Aurangzeb are the memoirs of Manouchi as told by Catrou, and the English records as preserved in the Madras Presidency.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ The English records are invaluable as fixing dates. So, too, are many of the Mahratta records quoted by Grant Duff. This is all the more im-

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Afghan affairs.

The current of history now reverts to the North-West. Kábul was nominally a Moghul province, but the Afghans were most refractory subjects. The Moghul governor of Kábul resided at Peshawar; he was cut off from Kábul by the Khaibar Pass, and yet he was supposed to keep the Afghans of Kábul in their allegiance to the Moghul. During the advance of the Persian army under Shah Abbas, the Afghans had been especially turbulent, and were probably ready to side with Persia.

Moghul invasion
of Kábul.

After the death of the Shah, Amín Khan, son of the deceased Amír Jumla, was appointed governor of Kábul. He employed the army which had been raised to repel Persia to engage in an expedition to punish the Afghans. He left Peshawar, pushed through the Khaibar Pass, and entered the plain of Kábul. The Afghans retreated to the mountains, and Amín Khan could not follow them. In his contempt for the Afghans, he had brought the ladies of his seraglio with him, mounted on elephants. Failing to bring the Afghans to an engagement, and running short of provisions, he resolved on returning to Peshawar.

Afghan strategy.

The Afghans saw that the Moghuls were at their mercy. Whilst Amín Khan was vainly trying to penetrate their mountain defiles, they had gone off by secret tracks to cut off his retreat through the Khaibar.

Attack in the
Khaibar.

The Khaibar Pass is a valley enclosed by sharply pointed rocks. The Afghans concealed themselves

portant as Catrou has made some mistakes in the chronology. Mr. Elphinstone also furnishes important dates from Muhammadan authorities, which serve to clear up serious difficulties. The author owes his first introduction to the records of the Madras Presidency to Sir Charles Trevelyan, the Governor of Madras, in 1860.

behind the heights, and suffered the Moghuls to enter the valley.⁵¹ Suddenly, as night was coming on, they rushed down the sides, sword in hand, uttering the most horrible cries. Amín Khan employed a holy Santon, who was revered by both parties, to arrange a peace. The Afghans were so blind with rage that they beheaded the Santon.⁵² There was no way of escape for the Moghuls. The Afghans were cutting their way to the elephants. Amín Khan slid down his elephant, leaving his secretary in the howdah. He cut down an Afghan, assumed his dress and arms, and got off in the darkness and confusion.

Amín Khan saved nothing but his life. His secre- Moghul disaster.
tary was cut to pieces; his army was massacred; his treasures were rifled; his chief wife was slaughtered; his mother, sister, and daughter were carried away captive. The daughter was doomed to a hard fate. She had been betrothed to Akbar, third son of Aurangzeb. She was recovered from the Afghans, but deemed unworthy to become the bride of Akbar.

Aurangzeb showed his marked displeasure. He Changes at Peshawar.
recalled Amín Khan; he sent Mahábat Khan to govern Kábul. The new governor had known the Afghans of old. He remained quiet at Peshawar, and for some time there was a lull in Afghan affairs.

All this while Hindustan was tranquil. Tranquillity.
Palace life at Delhi was undisturbed by Afghans or Mahrattas. Aurangzeb was easy in his mind.

⁵¹ No reference has been made to modern geography. The description of the Khaibar is given in the language of Manouchi as reported by Catrou. It shows that Manouchi was well acquainted with all the details of the expedition.

⁵² It will be remembered that Aurangzeb had not dared to execute the Santons who had joined Dara. The Afghans must have been driven frantic by the prospect of revenge before they could have ventured on murdering a Santon.

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Mission from
Mecca.

About this time the Sherif of Mecca began to repent that he had refused Aurangzeb's money. Now that Shah Jehan was dead, there certainly was no objection to his accepting Aurangzeb's donation. He sent a present of holy relics to Aurangzeb, such as the top of the broom that was used to sweep the tomb of the Prophet, and other small matters. The relics were taken to Delhi by a pious Imám. Aurangzeb received them with every mark of respect; he overwhelmed the ambassador with honours; he never referred to the money. At last the Imám broke the matter to one of the ministers; he was told that the money had all been spent on works of mercy. He was compelled to return empty-handed to Mecca.

The Christian
Sultana,

A new story came from the seraglio. Aurangzeb was fascinated by a fair-complexioned Christian lady, named Udipurí. She was a native of Georgia. When a child she had been brought to India by a slave dealer, and bought by Dara, the eldest brother of Aurangzeb. She grew up to be so exceedingly beautiful that she became a great favourite with Dara. Probably she was one of the secret causes that led Dara to declare himself a Christian.

Aurangzeb's
favourite.

When Dara was put to death, Aurangzeb demanded the two favourite ladies of his elder brother; he piously remarked that he was bound by the Koran to marry his brother's widows. One lady was a Rajpút; she took poison rather than obey the summons.⁵³ Udipurí was more complaisant, she surrendered at discretion, and became the favourite of Aurangzeb.

The Sultanas were accustomed to give magnificent

⁵³ There was another story, that she seamed her face with a diamond. All gossip at Moghul courts is of this vague and contradictory character.

fêtes to each other in the halls and gardens of the seraglio. They vied with each other in the splendour of these fêtes. Aurangzeb was always present; consequently they vied with each other in their dresses and adornments. But Udipurí always carried away the palm; Aurangzeb was infatuated with her. The other ladies grew bitterly jealous and plotted her ruin.

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Fêtes in the seraglio.

As Udipurí was a Christian, she was allowed to drink wine; occasionally she abused the privilege. One day there was a grand fête, but Udipurí was absent. Aurangzeb called for his favourite; he was told that she was indisposed. He saw a malicious smile on the faces of the ladies; he hastened to her apartment, and found her far from sober. He was inclined to wrath, but her beauty disarmed him; he was more angry with the Sultanas who had forced him to see her in such a plight. He ordered that no more wine should be brought into the seraglio, but continued to show his preference for Udipurí.

Mishap of the favourite.

Indulgence in wine was the vice of Muhammadan seraglios. Mussulman ladies are said to have urged that, as they were to be kept out of paradise, they were not bound to refrain from wine. Begum Sahib revealed the extent of feminine intoxication to her brother Aurangzeb. She gave an entertainment to the wives and daughters of grandees and divines; she plied them with wine and then admitted the Emperor. Next day there was an edict issued forbidding all women from drinking wine.⁵⁴

Convivial ladies.

⁵⁴ Manouchi through Catrou. The court scandals related by the Venetian physician in the seventeenth century are in harmony with all the ancient traditions of India, Rajpút and Moghul. There are pictures of such convivialities in Ferguson's "Tree and Serpent Worship." There is a story in the Rámáyana of Sitá amusing her husband Ráma by her intoxication. Bühler has preserved a similar scene in the introduction to his Life of Vikramaditya.

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Hindú risings.

Amidst these revellings the city of Delhi was sometimes thrown into a great fear. Aurangzeb was hated by the Hindús. More than once, when the army was absent at the frontier, the city was threatened by a mob of Hindú fanatics. On one occasion the zealots were headed by an old woman who played the part of sorceress. She inspired her followers with a belief in her supernatural powers; she called on them to dethrone the Emperor as the enemy of the gods. They marched on towards Delhi in a religious fervour. A large body of horsemen tried to stop them, but were dispersed by the fanatics.

Aurangzeb's magic.

Aurangzeb brought another form of superstition into play. He had long impressed the people of Hindustan with the belief that he was a magician; he confirmed that belief by his sacrifices of pepper. He raised another body of horsemen, and armed them with texts and magic devices fastened to their banners and horses' manes. The power of the sorceress was broken; the fanatics were cut to pieces. Henceforth the people believed that Aurangzeb was the greatest magician in Hindustan.⁵⁵

Rebellion of the Afghans.

About 1672 there was an outbreak in Kábul which threatened to swamp the empire. Shuja, the second brother of Aurangzeb, was supposed to have been killed in Arakan. Suddenly a man professing to be Shuja appeared in Kábul; he told stories of wild adventure and hairbreadth escapes; he gained the

Rubruquis in the thirteenth century describes the drinking bouts of the Moghuls and their wives in the steppes of Tartary. Clavijo, the Spanish ambassador to Samarkand at the beginning of the fifteenth century, saw some hard drinking amongst the ladies at the court of Timúr.

⁵⁵ Manouchi through Catrou. A similar story is told by Khafi Khan. The fanatics were called Mondihis and Satnámis. They were distinguished by depriving themselves of all hair, even to their eyelashes and eyebrows.

ears of the Afghans, and was soon at the head of a large army. To this day it is a mystery whether the man was Shuja or an impostor. Mahábat Khan, governor of Kábul, believed him to be really Shuja. He made no attempt to suppress the outbreak; he refused to interfere between Aurangzeb and his brother.

The rebellion grew into a national movement. The Afghans accepted Shuja as their Sultan. They indulged in dreams of the restoration of Afghan dominion in Hindustan. Their ancestors had been defeated by Baber and conquered by Akbar. They resolved to avenge the wrongs of their fathers; to reimpose the Afghan yoke from the Kábul river to the mouths of the Ganges.

Another Shah
Shuja.

The Moghul empire was evidently in sore peril. The army of the Dekhan was brought up and dispatched to the north-west. All the available forces of the empire were hurried off to the banks of the Indus. So imminent was the danger, that Aurangzeb took the field in person. He left his seraglio behind; he had neither palanquin nor elephant; he appeared on horseback, lance in hand, in the first rank of the army.

Aurangzeb
takes the field.

The war lasted for more than two years, but little is known of the details. The river Indus was crossed in the old fashion on wooden rafts supported by inflated ox-skins. Mahábat Khan was sent back to Delhi, and died on the way; it was said that he was poisoned at the instance of Aurangzeb. Nothing was apparently effected in Kábul. The Moghul army was harassed day and night by constant attacks of Afghans. Shuja, or his representative, was secure in the recesses of the mountains.

Absence of
details.

At last treachery was tried, and treachery on a

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Treachery.

gigantic scale. Aurangzeb left Kábul and returned to Delhi. One Kasim Khan was appointed governor of Kábul. He sought to lull the Afghans into a sense of security. He won them over by an affectation of friendship. He abolished all taxes; probably he had found it impossible to collect them. He showed none of the haughtiness and severity of former governors; he mingled freely in Afghan assemblies without followers, and often without arms. He wanted the Afghans to give up Shuja, but found he was treading on dangerous ground. The Afghans were enchanted with Kasim Khan, but they would not betray Shuja.

Festivities at
Peshawar.

Perhaps the greatest festival in Muhammadan households is the circumcision of the eldest son. Kasim Khan prepared to celebrate the event in his own family with public rejoicings. Games and exhibitions were to be held in the great square of Peshawar. There were to be elephant fights, horse races, and palanquin races. The festival was to be accompanied by a great feast in the square.

Massacre of
Afghans.

All the Afghan grandes were invited to Peshawar; they came without fear or suspicion. Shuja was invited, but sent an excuse. The exhibitions were brought to an end and the feast began. It was held on a large platform, covered in with an awning on the roof and sides. Suddenly, in the midst of the feast, Kasim Khan gashed his hand in cutting a melon; he asked leave to retire; his leaving the assembly was a signal for massacre. Bodies of musketeers had been posted in houses overlooking the platform. They poured volleys of musketry on the Afghan guests. There was no way of escape. Armed squadrons filled up every avenue. The massacre spread weeping and

wailing throughout Kábul. Shuja fled away, and was heard of no more. CHAP. VII.

Aurangzeb vehemently condemned the perfidy. He called Kasim Khan to Delhi; he degraded him to the second rank of grandees; shortly afterwards he raised him to the first dignities of the empire. No one can doubt that the massacre of the Afghans was the joint work of Aurangzeb and Kasim Khan.⁵⁶ Perfidy of Aurangzeb.

Afghan affairs gave no further trouble. The people were paralysed by the massacre. Nothing more is told of them throughout the reign of Aurangzeb. Afghans paralysed.

The current of history reverts to the Dekhan. Whilst the Afghans had been threatening the gates of the empire, the expeditions and exploits of Sivaji were the terror and wonder of the Dekhan. The Mahratta prince levied *chout* on the territories of the Moghul as well as on those of the Sultan of Bījápur. He levied open war on the Sultan of Bījápur, to whom his fathers had been vassals. He extended his kingdom of the Konkan, and prepared to assert himself in the eyes of the world as an independent sovereign. Sivaji's successes.

The year 1674 is a standpoint in Mahratta history. The English at Bombay were making the acquaintance of Sivaji at the very time he was preparing to be installed as Maharaja. The Europeans in India were in a transition state. Charles the Second was revelling at Whitehall; the Portuguese were labouring to keep up a show of magnificence at Goa; whilst wealth, trade, and power were passing into the hands of the Dutch. The English were settling down in European affairs.

⁵⁶ Manouchi through Catrou. Mussulman writers are silent about the massacre, and only allude to the wars against the Afghans.

CHAP. VII. their forts at Madras and Bombay, and struggling to keep up a few exposed factories in Bengal.

Bombay embassy
to Sivaji.

A Mr. Oxenden was governor of Bombay. Ten years before he had been agent at Surat, and succeeded in keeping the Mahrattas out of the English factory. Since then Sivaji had become a great man. Oxenden wanted to open a trade through Sivaji's territories into Bījāpur. Accordingly he went on an embassy to Sivaji, and was an eye-witness of the coronation.⁵⁷

Coronation of
Sivaji.

The Maharaja was installed on the throne of the Konkan in Moghul and Rajpūt fashion. Brahmans performed their preliminary ceremonies. The new Maharaja made pilgrimages to pagodas. At last, on the day appointed, Sivaji took his seat upon the throne. He received gifts and congratulations from all present. He was surrounded by the insignia of sovereignty borne aloft on lances—the golden fish-heads, the scales of justice, and other well-known symbols. He was solemnly weighed against heaps of gold and silver, which were afterwards distributed amongst the Brahmans.

Mahratta frontier.

In 1675 another eye-witness describes the state of the frontier between the Mahrattas and the Moghuls. The bone of contention between the two was the fortress of Joonere, about sixty miles to the eastward of Bombay. Sivaji was born at Joonere, but the Moghuls held possession of the fortress.⁵⁸

A Dr. Fryer went from Bombay to attend the

⁵⁷ Early Records of British India; a History of the English Settlements in India, as told in the Government Records, the works of old travellers, &c. By the author of the present history. The book will be occasionally cited throughout the remainder of the volume.

⁵⁸ Joonere is in the district of Poona.

Moghul governor of Joonere. He saw the lines of natural fortresses opposed to each other; he heard the shouts of the watchmen on the heights above him. He describes the Mahrattas as a ragged lot, with their hair covering their ears. The Moghuls were more decent and respectable, and carried their weapons in better fashion. CHAP. VII.
Fryer's visit.

The country was a desolation. The Moghuls destroyed everything, drove away cattle, carried women and children into slavery, and burnt down the jungle to drive out fugitives. The Mahrattas were just as destructive. The cultivators ploughed the lands, but Sivaji carried off the harvest. The people were half-starved wretches, living on grass, and herding in kennels. They were greedy for money, but had no provisions to sell. The people of the towns were better off, but in constant alarm.⁵⁹ Desolation.

In 1677 Sivaji was encamped near Madras. He had marched an army from the neighbourhood of Bombay to the neighbourhood of Madras. He had passed through the territories of the Sultan of Golkonda. He conquered the Hindú Rajas between Golkonda and Madura. The English at Madras sent him a present of cordials and medicines. Nothing is known of his conquests beyond the fact that he respected the zenanas of the Rajas, whilst his son Sambhaji violated them by his lawless irregularities.⁶⁰ Sivaji at Madras.

Aurangzeb was at Delhi. He thought to conquer the Konkan whilst Sivaji was away in the south. But Sivaji was forewarned. He left his southern Sivaji's return.

⁵⁹ Early Records of British India. Fryer stumbled on strange acquaintances : a dirty fakir, who could only be kept quiet by strong drink ; and an apostate Dutchman, who had turned Mussulman in order to marry two wives.

⁶⁰ Grant Duff, and Early Records of British India.

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kingdom in the charge of his second son, Ram Raja, and hastened back to the Konkan before the Moghul army reached the Dekhan.

Last exploits of
Sivaji.

Shah Alam commanded the Moghul army of the Dekhan. He could do nothing against the Mahrattas. He could neither climb the precipices of the Western Gháts nor force his way through the defiles. If he made the attempt, his troops were cut off by ambuscades or repulsed by inferior numbers. Meanwhile Sivaji and the Mahrattas ravaged the country like Cossacks up to the very gates of Aurangabad. The Moghuls liked the Dekhan, because they could squeeze money and supplies out of the Sultans of Bījápur and Golkonda; but they were constantly harassed by the Mahrattas. At a time when the Moghul army was beginning to mutiny for want of pay, Sivaji cut off a convoy of treasure on its way to the Moghul camp. It was Sivaji's last exploit. He died about 1680.⁶¹

THIRD PERIOD : *Aurangzeb's Religious Wars.*
1680-1707.

Changes in
Aurangzeb.

The death of Sivaji was accompanied by a marked change in the life and policy of Aurangzeb. He abandoned all show of toleration towards Hindús; he was bent on dethroning Hindú gods and suppressing Hindú worship; he resolved that faith in God and the Prophet should be the only religion of the Moghul empire.⁶²

⁶¹ Manouchi says that Sivaji died in 1679. Grant Duff says April 1680. Fryer says June 1680.

⁶² Manouchi through Catrou represents Aurangzeb as a persecutor of Christians. His reasons for thinking so are open to question. Aurangzeb allowed

Aurangzeb began the work of persecution with the destruction of idols and pagodas. A great pagoda near Delhi was burnt to the ground. The magnificent temple at Mathura, whose gilded domes could be seen from Agra, was converted into a mosque. Vice-roys and governors were commanded to destroy idols and pagodas in like manner throughout the empire. Large numbers of Yogis, Saniasis, and other Hindú penitents, were driven out of Hindustan. The great Hindú festivals were strictly forbidden. All servants of the Moghul government who refused to become Muhammadans were deprived of their posts.

So far the people of India seem to have submitted to their fate. Aurangzeb issued another edict, which nearly drove them to revolt. He ordered the *Jezya* to be levied, the old poll-tax on infidels. This tribute had been exacted from all who refused to accept the Koran since the days of the Prophet, and the Arab Khalifs who succeeded him. It had been exacted from Hindús by the early Muhammadan conquerors of Hindustan. Akbar abolished it as being inconsistent with his policy of toleration. It was revived by Aurangzeb as the crowning act of the Sunní revival.⁶³

Christians to make wine and drink it; he only prohibited them from selling wine to Muhammadans. Again, he allowed the Christian fathers to show a bare crucifix, but would not allow them to exhibit pictures and images in their churches. This was tolerably accommodating, seeing that wine and idol-worship are an abomination to Muhammadans: it could scarcely be called persecution.

There is one story of martyrdom. A certain Father Hyacinth ran away from Goa, turned Muhammadan, and married several wives. Subsequently he wanted to turn back to Christianity. Probably his wives informed against him. At any rate, he was arrested by the Muhammadan authorities. He was deaf to all threats and blind to all temptations. Apostasy is punished by death according to Muhammadan law. After a reference to the Emperor, Father Hyacinth was beheaded at Aurangabad.

⁶³ Manouchi through Catrou.

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Hindú appeal
quashed.

The Hindús detested the Jezya; they appealed to Aurangzeb in vain. One Friday they blocked up the way to the mosque. Aurangzeb ordered the elephants to trample down the mob. Many were killed, but still the Hindús complained. At last they yielded to their destiny and paid the Jezya.⁶⁴

Submission to
the Jezya.

The collection of Jezya by Aurangzeb is one of the most remarkable phenomena in Indian history. It was a property-tax of the most offensive kind, exacted from all who refused to become Mussulmans. It was even levied on the English and Dutch inmates of the factories at Hughli; but they were allowed to commute the demand by making a yearly present of Persian horses to the Nawab.⁶⁵

Jaipur pays
Jezya.

Aurangzeb was resolved that the subjects of Rajpút Rajas should pay the Jezya. Jai Singh of Jaipur was dead; he had been deceived by the sham rebellion of Shah Alam, and was said to have been poisoned. His eldest son was a hostage at Delhi. The kingdom of Jaipur was thus open to the Moghul officers, and the Jezya was paid.

Jodhpur redeems
Jezya.

Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur was also dead. His widow was regent of Marwar. She was the daughter of Shah Jehan by a Rajpút princess. She had been brought up in the palace, and taught by her mother to worship Hindú gods. She refused to allow the Moghul officers to levy the Jezya within her dominions. She was threatened with war; her heart misgave her; she was

⁶⁴ Khafi Khan, translated by Dowson.

⁶⁵ Stewart, in his History of Bengal, says that the Jezya was $6\frac{1}{2}$ per thousand on all property. The sick, lame, and blind were excused. Christians paid an additional duty of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on their trade.

Manouchi through Catrou says that merchants paid $13\frac{1}{2}$ rupees; artisans, $6\frac{1}{2}$ rupees; and poor people, $3\frac{1}{2}$ rupees.

allowed to redeem the Jezya by the concession of the district of Mirta. CHAP. VII.

There was no one left to resist the Jezya but the Rana of Udaipur. He alone bore the brunt of the storm. Aurangzeb sent him the most arrogant demands. The Rana was to allow cows to be killed within his dominions; to throw down the pagodas or suffer them to be turned into mosques; to administer justice according to the Koran; and above all, to require his subjects to pay Jezya or turn Muhammadans. Aurangzeb threatens Udaipur.

The Rana was at bay. He had no alternative but to renounce his religion or fight on until the bitter end. He resolved to abandon his cities and territories in the plains; to retire with all his subjects into the Aravulli mountains; to defend their lives and liberties behind the precipices and defiles of the Aravulli range against the whole might of the Moghul. The Rana's defiance.

Aurangzeb was exceedingly angry. He resolved to wreak his vengeance on the Rana; to crush the petty Rajpút who dared defy his power. His preparations were on a stupendous scale. It was the old story of Moghuls against Greeks; the hordes of High Asia against the Hellas of India. It seemed as if Aurangzeb projected the subjugation of a potent sovereign rather than of a refractory Raja, whose territory was a mere speck on the surface of the empire. His sons were summoned from their governments at the extremities of his dominions. Shah Alam commanded the army of the Dekhan; Azam Shah the army of Bengal; Akbar the army of Múltan. The fourth son was too young to command an army, but still he accompanied his father in the war against Udaipur. Moghul preparations.

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Aravulli mountains.

The Aravulli chain of mountains begins a little to the south of Ajmír, and runs towards the south-west past the city of Udaipur at the foot of its eastern slopes. The western side is formed by a mountain wall which overlooks the sandy plain of Jodhpur or Marwar. On this side there is but one opening that can be called a pass; the opening is opposite the village of Ganerao. The eastern side is broken into defiles, which overlook the fertile territory of Udaipur, the garden of Rajputana.

Four Moghul armies.

Each of the four armies of the Moghuls had its place of rendezvous. Shah Alam, coming up from the Dekhan, marched past Ahmadabad towards the western wall. He entered the mountains at the pass opposite Ganerao. He made his way up the bed of the Gúmíti river, and then turned south towards the great lake in front of the Rana's summer palace at Kankroli. There he halted. The road was partially blocked up by the lake and palace. If Shah Alam had gone farther, he would have imperilled the communications in his rear.⁶⁶

Azam Shah.

Azam Shah, coming up from Bengal, seems to have got to the south of Udaipur, or else to the westward of the Aravulli range. He could do nothing but pound hopelessly against the mountain wall. There was not a pass open to any one, save Bhíls and goats, from the city of Udaipur to the pass at Ganerao.

Aurangzeb's disaster.

Aurangzeb was joined by his son Akbar at Ajmír. He then advanced south towards the city of Udaipur, on the eastern side of the range. Not a soul interrupted his progress to the capital of the Rana. He

⁶⁶ A glance at sheet 49 of the Topographical Survey Maps of India will indicate Shah Alam's position and the general character of the Aravulli range.

tried to enter a defile which seemed to reach to the Marwar side. Suddenly he found himself entrapped. Before and behind the way was blocked by ramparts of trees, impassable for horses or elephants. On either side the Rajpúts lined the defiles. To make matters worse, the beautiful Udipurí was surprised in another defile, and carried off prisoner by the Rajpúts.

For a whole day Aurangzeb and his army were starving in the defiles. The Rana still respected the Moghul. He ordered the trees to be removed, and thus released the invaders. He delivered up Udipurí to the Emperor. He begged Aurangzeb to abandon his claim for Jezya; above all, to spare the sacred cows, who had been left behind to pasture in the plains.

Aurangzeb despised the clemency of the Rana. Rajpút clemency. He left his son Akbar in command; he beat a retreat to Ajmír; before he went, he ordered the slaughter of the cows.⁶⁷ Moghul spite.

For years the strength of the Moghuls was frittered away before the Aravulli mountains. Aurangzeb lay in slothful ease at Ajmír. He exhorted his sons to pierce the defiles and capture the Rana. Each one sent back his excuses, or declared he was starving out the Rajpúts. No one ventured to enter the defiles. All this time the Rana was sending out messengers to arouse the princes of Rajputana to turn against their common enemy.

Meanwhile a dangerous plot was brewing. Akbar,

⁶⁷ The foregoing narrative has been drawn up on the authority of Manouchi through Catron; also on the native authorities, translated by Tod in his great work on Rajasthan. There are some discrepancies between the two, but nothing of any moment.

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Disaffection of Akbar.

the third son of Aurangzeb, was a rebel at heart. He occupied a position nearer to Ajmír than either of his brothers. He knew that Aurangzeb had denuded his army to strengthen his sons; that the Emperor had, in fact, only a small force at Ajmír.

Rajpút plot.

At this crisis the widow of Jaswant Singh of Marwar sent secret messengers to Akbar in the joint names of herself and the Rana. She exhorted him to rebel against his father; to seize Aurangzeb at Ajmír; to mount the throne and take possession of the empire. She promised to send fifty thousand Rajpúts to support him; she declared that every worshipper of the Hindú gods would join him the moment he began his march to Ajmír.

The astrologer.

Akbar closed with the offer at once. In due course he was joined by the fifty thousand Rajpúts. Success was a certainty. In an evil hour he consulted his astrologer. There was a delay in making the calculations. A spy revealed the plot to Shah Alam.

Warnings.

The throne of the Moghuls was in sore peril. Shah Alam saw that his own birthright was in danger. Possibly he was mortified by the thought that but for the sham rebellion he might have headed the plot. He sent off full particulars to Aurangzeb. He offered to march at once on Ajmír for the protection of his father against the rebel Akbar.

Awakening of Aurangzeb.

The Emperor believed nobody. He was rudely wakened to the fact that his force was very small. He suspected Shah Alam of a design to seize him and dethrone him, just as he himself had dethroned and imprisoned his father, Shah Jehan. He wrote back that Shah Alam was altogether mistaken about Akbar; that Shah Alam was not to leave his post until further orders. Shortly afterwards, Aurangzeb received

letters from Akbar's camp, revealing the whole plot; one of the letters came from Akbar's astrologer. Akbar was on his march to Ajmír with fifty thousand Rajpút auxiliaries. Fortunately Shah Alam had not waited for his father's orders. He was only one day's march behind Akbar. The Emperor sent a secret messenger to order the astrologer to delay Akbar. Accordingly, Shah Alam got to Ajmír three hours before Akbar.

The chances of battle were very doubtful. The Artifice. Rajpút auxiliaries rendered Akbar very formidable. Night was coming on; the battle was to be fought at early morning. Aurangzeb heard from his spies that the Rajpúts were to form the first line of Akbar's army. He wrote a feigned letter to Akbar, which was to fall into the hands of the Rajpút general. In this letter he rejoiced over the destruction of idolatry and massacre of the Rajpúts; reminded Akbar to place the Rajpúts in the front, so that they might be slaughtered from before and behind; not a Rajpút was to escape; the massacre was to be a sacrifice to God and the Prophet.

This letter fell, as was intended, into the hands of the Rajpúts disappear. Rajpút general. He at once concluded that Akbar was playing the same game of sham rebellion that had been played by Shah Alam. He thanked the gods for opening his eyes in time. Before morning the Rajpút auxiliaries were in full march for Marwar.

Akbar woke in the morning to find that his Raj- Akbar's flight. púts had fled to Marwar, and that his Muhammadans were deserting to the Emperor. The astrologer had gone off to Ajmír. One faithful adherent made a desperate attempt to assassinate Aurangzeb, but was cut to pieces at the entrance to the tent. Akbar fled

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to Marwar in despair. There he learned how the Rajpúts had been gulled by the feigned letter.

The escape.

Shah Alam was sent with an army to arrest Akbar and bring him to Ajmír in silver chains. The Rajpúts, however, helped Akbar on his way through wilds and jungles. Suddenly they were all surrounded by the army of Shah Alam. Akbar was entrapped, but he was so far safe that Shah Alam could not get at him.

Game of craft.

Then followed a game of craft between the two brothers. Shah Alam promised pardon and reconciliation; he implored his brother to rely on the mercy of Aurangzeb. Akbar replied that he was anxious to throw himself at the feet of his father; but the Rajpúts were clamouring for pay; he was a prisoner in the hands of the Rajpúts. Shah Alam was taken in; he advanced the money. Akbar paid part to the Rajpúts and told them Shah Alam was in the plot. The Rajpúts were so cheered that they broke through the army of Shah Alam; and Akbar escaped from one mountain to another until he found a refuge amongst the Mahrattas of the Konkan.

Humiliating
peace with
the Rana.

For four years the Rana stood out against Aurangzeb. The Moghuls were humiliated in the eyes of all Rajputana. The rebellion and flight of Akbar made matters worse. The Emperor was forced to leave the Rajpút and fly at the Mahratta; to withdraw from the heart of Hindustan in order to assail the Konkan in the Western Ghats. It was humiliating to leave the idolaters of Udaipur to worship their gods in peace in order to fight against the mountain-rats of the Konkan. The shame was covered up in the old Moghul fashion. The Rana was supposed to sue for peace; the demand for Jezya was dropped. The Rana was left in the possession of his kingdom without having yielded a

point or ceded a foot of territory. Henceforth Aurangzeb was devoted to the conquest of the Dekhan; nothing more was said about Rajputana.

Aurangzeb concealed his disgrace from the public eye by a show of pomp and magnificence which was remembered for generations. He had opened out the secret hoards of his fathers to establish the supremacy of the Koran.⁶⁸ He moved from Hindustan to the Dekhan with the splendour and parade of a Darius or a Xerxes. Honour and royalty were wanting, but there was no lack of gorgeous colouring or cloth of gold. The memory of the magnificence of Aurangzeb outlived the dissolution of the empire.⁶⁹

Moghul
magnificence.

The pomp of the camp of Jehangir has been told in the story of his reign. That of Aurangzeb is told by Manouchi and the Mahratta records;⁷⁰ it appears to have been on a grander scale, especially as regards artillery. The imperial army seems to have moved in three divisions. Omitting a cloud of details, the order of march may be gathered from the following outline.

Imperial camp.

A body of pioneers walked in front with spades and hods to clear the way; then followed a vanguard of heavy cannon; the imperial treasures, with wealth of gold and jewels; the account-books and records of the

Order of march.

⁶⁸ Gold rupees or mohurs were very plentiful in India at this period. There was a fall in gold and a corresponding rise in silver. Unfortunately the data are very imperfect. It is said that the European mints in India made large profits by the change of value.

⁶⁹ Nothing is more singular than the effect of splendour, however hollow, on the Oriental imagination. Not many years ago it was discovered that Lord Ellenborough was still remembered as the greatest but one of all the Governors-General by all the old native servants of Government-House at Calcutta, because on state occasions he ordered every candle to be lighted. The one exception was, of course, the Governor-General of the time, who happened to be Lord Lawrence.

⁷⁰ Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas, vol. i., chap. 10. Manouchi through Catrou.

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empire on elephants and carts; camels loaded with drinking water from the Ganges; provisions in abundance; cooks by hundreds; wardrobes of dresses and decorations; masses of horsemen, which formed the bulk of the Moghul army.

The Emperor.

The approach of the Emperor was heralded by incense; smoking cauldrons of perfumes were carried before him on the backs of camels. Aurangzeb appeared on an elephant, or on horseback, or in a rich palanquin. On either side were the imperial guards on horseback. After him came the ladies of the seraglio in glittering howdahs veiled with the finest gauze. Flocks of other women appeared on horseback, shrouded in long cloaks from head to foot. Light artillery drawn on wooden rafts brought up the rear of the imperial household.

Camp followers.

Lastly came the motley host of infantry, camp followers, sutlers, servants of all descriptions, with spare horses, tents, and baggage.

Pavilions.

Wherever the Emperor halted there was a city of tents and pavilions as large and populous as Delhi. Every encampment was a vast square. In the centre were the pavilions of the Emperor, also forming a square; they were moving palaces, with courts, halls, and chambers as magnificent as the solid buildings on the banks of the Jumna. Every approach was guarded by rows of cannon.

Policy of life
in camp.

The secret of this life in camp transpired in after years. Aurangzeb had resolved never more to dwell within palace walls or quit the command of his army. He was warned by the fate of his father, Shah Jehan, never to return to Delhi. He was warned by the rebellion of Akbar never more to trust a son with a force superior to his own. He was advanced in years,

but he lived for another quarter of a century. He spent the remainder of his days in camp, wandering to and fro after the manner of his Moghul ancestors.

The news of the Emperor's march was soon noised abroad throughout the Dekhan; the wonders of his camp and army were the theme of every tongue. But the war against the Mahrattas was as fruitless as that against the Rajpûts. Sambhaji, the elder son of Sivaji, was Maharaja of the Mahrattas. Whilst Aurangzeb was trying to crush the Rana, Sambhaji had consolidated his power. He was bold and unscrupulous, like his father Sivaji; but the Mahrattas were incensed against him on account of the licentiousness of his amours.⁷¹

Fruitless
Mahratta wars.

Sambhaji had received Akbar with every kindness. He was prepared to defend the Prince against the Emperor. He played off the old Mahratta tactics; repulsed every attempt of the Moghuls to pierce the defiles; and broke out at intervals upon the plains, ravaging villages, cutting off supplies, and returning by secret ways to his mountain fortresses. He poisoned the tanks near the Moghul camp. Aurangzeb and his household escaped because they drank the Ganges water; but multitudes of men and horses perished from drinking poisoned water.⁷²

Mahratta
resistance.

⁷¹ Khafi Khan tells a homely story of Mahratta life, which brings out the contrast between Sivaji and his degenerate son. Sivaji had dug a well near his door and set up a bench. It was his custom to sit upon this bench, and talk to the women who came to draw water as he would have talked to his mother and sisters. Sambhaji sat on the same bench, but when the women came, he dragged them to the seat and treated them rudely. So the Ryots of that place went out of the Mahratta country, and dwelt in the lands of the Portuguese. Elliot's History, edited by Dowson, vol. vii.

⁷² Manouchi through Catrou. The later Mahratta practice of poisoning tanks is mentioned in the Madras records. It was never charged against Sivaji.

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Mahratta plots.

All this while the Mahrattas were plotting against their Maharaja; they were bent on revenging the shame he had brought on many of their houses. The conspirators invited Akbar to become their Maharaja. Akbar rashly assented; then he was afraid of being entrapped, and revealed the whole plot to Sambhaji. From that day there was a firm friendship between Sambhaji and Akbar. Meanwhile every conspirator against the life of Sambhaji was taken by surprise and put out of the way.

Aurangzeb's
plots.

Aurangzeb learned all these plots and counterplots from his spies. He laid another plot of his own. The old tutor of Akbar was disguised as a fakir, and sent to the Moghul prince with offers of pardon. Akbar was to revive the conspiracy against Sambhaji; to bribe the Mahratta generals to admit a Moghul force into their capital. Akbar listened with feigned acquiescence, but told everything to Sambhaji. Both agreed to deceive Aurangzeb. Akbar accepted his father's forgiveness; fixed the day for the Moghul advance; and obtained a large sum for bribing the Mahratta generals. When the day came, the Moghuls were surrounded by the Mahrattas and slaughtered like cattle. Akbar employed the money to secure an escape to Persia.

Moghul mission
to Goa.

The rage of the baffled Emperor may be imagined. The Mahrattas and his rebel son were alike beyond his reach. At this crisis he planned another scheme. He resolved to make an alliance with the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa. He sent an envoy to Goa to persuade the Viceroy to attack the Mahrattas by sea, blockade the Mahratta ports, and prevent the escape of Akbar. In this scheme there was no idea of a community of interests. Aurangzeb only wanted the Portuguese to

do his bidding, and then proposed to capture Goa by treachery and surprise. CHAP VII.

Goa had long been on the decline.⁷³ She still maintained a show of magnificence, but her prosperity and power were passing away to the Dutch. The Portuguese Viceroy was flattered beyond measure at receiving an envoy from the Moghul Emperor; his head was completely turned. Manouchi was in Goa at the time, and helped to translate the Moghul's letter. He warned the Viceroy that there was no trusting Aurangzeb; that the Mahratta was a better neighbour than the Moghul; that the Konkan was the rampart of Goa against the Moghul; that when the Mahratta was destroyed, the Moghul would become the deadly enemy of the Portuguese. But the Viceroy shut his ears to all that was said. He was so dazzled by the flatteries and promises of Aurangzeb, that he formed an alliance with the Moghul against the Mahratta.⁷⁴ Portuguese affairs.

Akbar was in the utmost alarm. He sent a rich present of rubies and other precious stones to the Portuguese Viceroy; and was allowed to send men and materials to Goa for building a ship to carry him to Persia. The scheme was a plot for the capture of Goa by the Mahrattas. Goa was very poorly garrisoned. Mahratta soldiers were landed at Goa disguised as carpenters and artisans. Every day there were fresh boatloads of workmen arriving at Goa. Sambhaji was preparing to follow with an army. Manouchi discovered the plot in time. The Viceroy was put upon his guard. The ship was Akbar's ship-building.

⁷³ A description of Goa in her better days will be found in a previous volume. See vol. iii., chap. 9.

⁷⁴ Manouchi through Catrou.

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finished and sent to the port of Vingorla in Mahratta territory. The Portuguese of Goa then declared war against the Mahrattas.

Portuguese
disasters.

The war was most disastrous to the Portuguese. They were beguiled into attacking one of the Mahratta fortresses near the shore. They were surprised by Sambhaji, and nearly all cut to pieces. The Viceroy was severely wounded, but escaped with his life, accompanied by a remnant of his army. At that moment a Mahratta fleet threatened Goa. Every man in Goa flew to arms. The women crowded to the tomb of St. Francis Xavier. Monks and missionaries appeared with swords and muskets. A battalion of Christian fathers opened a fire upon the Mahratta fleet and drove away the enemy. In this manner Goa was saved.

Moghul
treachery.

Meanwhile Aurangzeb had grown sick of the Mahrattas. He left his eldest son, Shah Alam, to carry on the war against the Konkan, and went away to make war on Bijapur. It soon transpired that Shah Alam had been ordered to capture Goa. A Moghul squadron tried to force an entrance to the Goa river, but was repulsed by the fire of the Portuguese fortress. Shah Alam complained of the breach of treaty. Manouchi was sent to explain matters. Manouchi had formerly been physician to Shah Alam. He discovered that Aurangzeb meant treachery, but that Shah Alam was reluctant to attack the Portuguese. At last the Moghul squadron disappeared. Manouchi was rewarded for his services to the Portuguese by being made a Knight of the Order of St. James.

Two-faced
policy.

Shah Alam was at this time playing a double game. He made a show of carrying out the orders of Aurang-

zeb; but in reality he ran counter to those orders. Aurangzeb wanted him to surprise Goa and crush the Mahrattas. Shah Alam, on the other hand, was resolved to be friends with the Portuguese and Mahrattas, as they might help him in the event of Aurangzeb's death and a fratricidal war. Shah Alam was only anxious to arrest Akbar. He laid siege to Vingorla, but Akbar got away to Persia; and then Shah Alam came to a secret understanding with Sambhaji. Shah Alam was allowed to return through the Konkan without being attacked by the Mahrattas.

The remaining years of the reign of Aurangzeb Shah wars. were passed in sham wars and wearisome intrigues. It would be waste of time to tell the tedious details. A general review will suffice for the purposes of history.

Shah Alam was sent to make war on Golkonda; Golkonda. but his father, Aurangzeb, was already suspicious of his good faith, and was still more alarmed by his conduct of the war in Golkonda. Shah Alam made a show of war to satisfy his father, and a show of friendship to win the support of the Sultan. At last he made peace with the Sultan; left him in possession of his kingdom, and promised that the Moghuls should never molest him again. Aurangzeb was disgusted at the peace; he wanted the diamond mines of Golkonda; but he concealed his wrath for a while, and feigned to acquiesce in the treaty.

Shah Alam tried the same game in Bījāpur. He Bījāpur. supplied the Sultan with money and provisions whilst besieging him in his fortress of Bījāpur. He proposed making a similar treaty, but Aurangzeb refused to sanction the terms. The Sultan of Bījāpur was dethroned. He was promised his life, but soon disap-

CHAP. VII. peared from the scene. It was said he had been poisoned by Aurangzeb.

Intrigues of
Sultanas.

The intrigues of the sons of Aurangzeb derive some interest from the different religions of their mothers. Shah Alam, as already seen, had a Rajpút mother, and courted the support of Hindús. Azam Shah had a Muhammadan mother, and courted the support of Mussulmans. Kám Bákhsh, the youngest, had a Christian mother, the beloved Udipurí;⁷⁵ he built his hopes on the influence of his mother with Aurangzeb.

Intrigues of
Aurangzeb's
three sons.

Each of the three sons was pulling his father a different way. Shah Alam wanted Aurangzeb to return to Delhi and disband his Muhammadan army. Azam Shah wanted Aurangzeb to remain in camp, for he could rely on the support of the Muhammadan army. Udipurí tried to persuade Aurangzeb to conquer Golkonda, in order to make her son, Kám Bákhsh, Sultan of Bijápur and Golkonda.

Imprisonment
of Shah Alam.

Aurangzeb yielded to the prayers of his favourite Sultana; but when he announced that he was going to make war on Golkonda, Shah Alam exclaimed against it as a breach of treaty. Aurangzeb accused Shah Alam of disloyalty, but suddenly feigned to be reconciled. He gave out that he was going to Delhi to spend his old age in peace. He sent to Delhi all the generals and troops that were well affected towards Shah Alam. He then arrested Shah Alam and made him a close prisoner.

Treacherous
capture of
Golkonda.

Aurangzeb took Golkonda by deception after his old treacherous fashion. He gave out that he was going on

⁷⁵ The name of Kám Bákhsh was known to our forefathers as Cawn Bux. It was known to the Greeks as Cambyses.

pilgrimage to the shrines at Kulbarga, and then suddenly fell upon Golkonda. The Sultan was taken by surprise, but managed to find refuge in the fortress of Golkonda; his generals, however, had been already corrupted, and agreed to admit the Moghuls at midnight. There was a show of mining a bastion and blowing down two curtains, but the Moghul army did not even mount the walls. At midnight a Moghul force was admitted into the citadel. The doors of the seraglio were forced open amidst the screaming of women and blazing of torches. The Sultan was dragged from his hiding-place and carried off a prisoner. He was beaten and tortured to make him give up his secret hoards. Nothing further is known of him. It was said that he had been dethroned by treachery and silenced for ever by poison.

The remainder of the reign of Aurangzeb was spent in partial conquests in Southern India, and in vain efforts to capture Mahratta fortresses in the Western Dekhan. The conquests in Southern India are only interesting from their association with the English settlement at Madras. Zulfikar Khan, the first Nawab of the Moghul conquests in the south, confirmed the English in all their rights and privileges at Madras. His successor, Dáúd Khan, besieged Fort St. George for several weeks, and was then bribed to retire.⁷⁶

Last Mahratta wars.

The last wars of Aurangzeb against the Mahrattas of the Konkan might prove equally interesting by their association with the English at Bombay. But nothing is known of the early Bombay records; and little is known of the wars against the Mahrattas beyond the

Sambhaji a victim.

⁷⁶ Early Records of British India. London : Trübner & Co. 1878.

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fact that they were a tissue of intrigues and shams.⁷⁷ Aurangzeb captured Sambhaji by corrupting one of his ministers. He put the Mahratta to a barbarous death, and caused his remains to be eaten by hunting-dogs. He carried off a little son of Sambhaji, who was afterwards known as Sahu or Shao. But still the Mahrattas continued to harass him. Sambhaji was succeeded on the Mahratta throne by a younger brother, named Ram Raja. Meanwhile, Aurangzeb often suffered disasters, which he was careful to conceal. It was said that he bribed Ram Raja to suffer him to capture unimportant fortresses, in order to impress the people of India with his victories. It will suffice to say that the last years of Aurangzeb were wasted in desultory and useless wars.

Death of Aurangzeb.

Aurangzeb grew jealous of his second son, Azam Shah.⁷⁸ Accordingly he liberated his eldest son, Shah Alam, as a counterpoise. He sent his three sons to remote provinces, to prevent them from making war on each other whilst he was alive. He divided the empire between them, to prevent them from making war after his death. But his hopes were vain. He died in 1707. Within a few weeks after his death Hindustan was convulsed by a fratricidal war.

Character and policy.

Aurangzeb was the last of the Moghuls who played a real part in history. He was the last who had a policy. He exhausted the resources of the empire upon one design;—the dethronement of the Hindû

⁷⁷ The Records of Surat and Bombay were investigated some years ago by the Rev. Philip Anderson, and the results are shown in a work entitled "The English in Western India." But Mr. Anderson confined his attention to the internal affairs of the English settlements, and his volume throws no light upon Mahratta history.

⁷⁸ Manouchi says that Azam Shah was invading Southern India and plundering the pagodas. This is probable, but vague.

gods and extension of the religion of the Koran over the whole of India. He was baffled alike by Rajpúts and Mahrattas. The great Akbar, the founder of the dynasty, had bound the empire together by his toleration of the subject races. Aurangzeb had shaken it to its foundations by his intolerance and persecution. When Aurangzeb died, the disintegration of races had already begun. Within fifty years of his death, the sovereignty of the Moghuls had dwindled to an empty name.

CHAPTER VIII.

MOGHUL EMPIRE : DECLINE AND FALL. 1707 TO 1761.

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Bahadur Shah,
1707-12.

THE death of Aurangzeb awakened the empire from its seeming lethargy. Shah Alam proclaimed himself Emperor under the name of Bahadur Shah. His forces concentrated near Agra. Azam Shah advanced up from the Dekhan with another army. A bloody battle ensued near Agra, and Azam Shah was numbered with the dead.¹

The Christian
Sultana.

Bahadur Shah was Emperor of all the territories inherited by Aurangzeb. He was an old man, and would have been content to leave his remaining brother, Kám Bakhsh, to reign as Sultan of Bījápúr and Golkonda. But his sons would not hear of it. They instigated the Mullahs to urge the impiety of leaving the new conquests in the hands of a Christian. The mother of Kám Bakhsh implored the new Emperor to spare her son ; but her tears and prayers were thrown away. Bahadur Shah marched against the south ; and the news soon arrived that the son of the Christian Sultana was defeated and slain.

Rajpúts 'for-
given.'

Bahadur Shah was next anxious to punish the Rajpút princes. He did not want to interfere with the Rana of Meywar. He only aspired to re-establish the

¹ The best authorities for the events told in this chapter are the Madras Records and the native history known as the *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*.

Moghul yoke on Jaipur and Marwar. But alarming news came from the Punjab. The Sikhs had broken out in rebellion. Bahadur Shah "forgave" the Rajpúts, and hurried away to Lahore.

The Sikhs were not a nationality. Many were Rajpúts, others were a race of cultivators known as Játs. They were a religious sect, which had been founded in the sixteenth century by Nanuk Guru.

The career of Nanuk was like that of many religious teachers in India. He was a Kshatriya or Rajpút. When young, his goodness of disposition excited the admiration of a Muhammadan fakir of the Súfí persuasion. Nanuk was henceforth educated in all the spiritual mysticism of the Súfís. He forgot his Hindú training. He laid hold of many of the Súfí doctrines, and turned them into Punjabi poetry. Such is said to have been the origin of the Granth, or sacred books of the Sikhs.

Nanuk became known as a Guru or religious teacher in the beginning of the sixteenth century, about the time that Báber was invading Hindustan. For a long while his followers differed in no way from the bulk of Muhammadan fakirs. They formed communities or brotherhoods; each community had its own superior, and all the members of the community treated one another as brothers, without regard to race, tribe, or clan. When Nanuk Guru died, he was not succeeded in his spiritual authority by his son, but by a servant of his household.

The Sikhs began to create trouble in the time of Aurangzeb. The ninth Guru in succession to the servant of Nanuk was one Tugh Bahadur. He grew ambitious, took to plunder and rapine, and became a

CHAP. VIII. terror to the country round. He was arrested, sent to Gwalior, and there executed.

Guru Govind. Hitherto the Sikhs had generally followed a religious calling and carried no arms. The death of Tugh Bahadur led to an entire change. Guru Govind, the son and successor of the slaughtered Guru, formed the Sikh communities into military bands or brotherhoods under trusty leaders. Every community was known as a Misl; and the collective body was known as the Khálsa, or the army of the Khálsa. Every Sikh was a soldier of the Khálsa, fighting for God and the Guru.

Mughul capital at Lahore.

Stories of Sikh atrocities induced Bahadur Shah to remove his capital from Delhi to Lahore. He sent many forces against the Sikhs, but the troubles continued until the end of his reign.

Shíahs repressed.

Bahadur Shah was a Shíah at heart. At Lahore he avowed himself a Shíah. He wanted to introduce the Shíah doctrine into the public prayer for the wellbeing of the sovereign, known as the Khutba. The Sunní Khutba began with the name of Muhammad and the four Khalifs, ending with Ali. Bahadur Shah wanted to add the word "heir" to the name of Ali, to indicate that Ali was the true "heir" or successor to the Prophet. The innovation raised a storm amongst the Sunnís. A Shíah reader began to recite the new Khutba in the chief mosque at Lahore; but he was torn to pieces by the Sunní congregation. Their wrath at the notion that Ali was the first rightful successor of Muhammad overbore every other consideration.

Jehandar Shah, 1712.

Bahadur Shah died in 1712. He left four sons. It would be tedious to describe their battles for the succession. Three were killed, mainly by the instru-

mentality of Nawab Zulfikar Khan, who began to play an important part at the Moghul court. A worthless sot was then placed upon the throne under the name of Jehandar Shah. Zulfikar Khan became Vizier, and exercised all the real power of the sovereign.

Jehandar Shah was the slave of a dancing-girl named Lál Kanwar. The brother and kinsfolk of this favourite were all musicians and dancers of the same stamp. The new Emperor showered titles and honours on the whole of them. He gave a patent to the brother, appointing him governor of Agra. Zulfikar Khan refused to affix the seals. He said he wanted a thousand guitars as his fee; he excused himself by saying that all the grandees that wanted promotion for the future would have to play on guitars. The new Emperor was silenced by the implied rebuke, and deemed it advisable to overlook the sarcasm.

Vices of the
new Emperor.

The dancing-girl had a friend named Zahra, who used to sell vegetables in the bazar. The connection continued after the promotion of the dancing-girl to be the favourite of the Emperor. Scandal tells stories of the three getting drunk together and being found in woful plight; but the bare mention of the fact sufficiently indicates the state of affairs. One story is worth preserving. Grandees, courtiers, and all who wanted favour, sent presents and bribes to the favourite through Zahra. Consequently Zahra visited the palace with all the parade of a princess. Her people were overbearing and insulting, after the manner of upstarts. At last there was a catastrophe.

Scandal.

Chín Kulich Khan had been one of the grandees of Aurangzeb. He had filled high offices, and, under the name of Nizam-ul-Mulk, was destined to become the

Insolence of
Zahra.

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founder of the dynasty of the Nizams of Hyderabad. One day Zahra rebuked this grandee with insolent language from the howdah of her elephant. He made a sign to his followers. In one moment the woman was dragged from her elephant and soundly chastised.

Paramount
authority of
the Vizier.

Chín Kulich Khan knew his danger. He was not on good terms with the Vizier, but hastened to pay him a visit. The Vizier at once dispatched a note to the Emperor declaring that he threw in his lot with Chín Kulich Khan. The note was just in time. Zahra was already in the seraglio, laying ashes on her head and rolling in the dust. Lál Khanwar was rousing the Emperor to avenge the insult. Jehandar Shah read the note and did nothing.

Shíah revolt
in Bengal.

The new Emperor was held in contempt and detestation by all good Muhammadans in Hindustan. Suddenly a storm began to gather in Bengal. A grandson of Bahadur Shah was living in Bengal; he is best indicated by his later title of Farrukh Siyar. Two Shíahs of great influence proclaimed Farrukh Siyar as Emperor. These two men were widely known as Sayyids or descendants of the Prophet. They were joined by hosts of Shíahs. An army pushed on towards Delhi with Farrukh Siyar and the two Sayyids at its head.

Murder of
the Vizier.

Zulfikar Khan was a tried general, but Jehandar Shah was an arrant coward. The Emperor and his Vizier took the field with a large army. Jehandar Shah was accompanied by his favourite dancing-girl. A battle began at Agra; and then Jehandar Shah fled back to Delhi with his low-born companion. Zulfikar Khan was helpless without the presence of the Emperor. His troops deserted in large numbers to Farrukh Siyar. So many grandees went over to Farrukh

Siyar, that Zulfikar Khan followed their example. But CHAP. VIII.
 Zulfikar Khan had excited the bitter enmity of Farrukh Siyar. He was admitted into the presence and kindly received. As he went out he was surrounded by the creatures of Farrukh Siyar, who exasperated him by their taunts and then stabbed him to death.

Farrukh Siyar went on to Delhi. Jehandar Shah Farrukh Siyar,
1712-20.
 was taken and executed. There was a horrible massacre of princes and grandees. After a while the public mind began to quiet down. Abdulla Khan, the elder of the two Sayyids, was made Vizier. Both he and his brother, Husain Ali Khan, exercised paramount influence at the court of Delhi.

There was soon a coolness between Farrukh Siyar Breach with the
two Sayyids.
 and the two Sayyids. The Emperor began to chafe under their control. He listened to the insinuations of Sunni grandees, especially to a man named Amír Jumla. He showed neither capacity nor resolution. He was willing to destroy the two Sayyids, but afraid to take action.

At last it was resolved to send Husain Ali Khan on War against
Jodhpur.
 an expedition against Marwar (Jodhpur). Ajít Singh, Raja of Marwar, had set the Moghul at defiance, pulled down mosques, built up pagodas, and driven out the Muhammadan Kázís and Mullahs whom Aurangzeb had quartered on his territories. Husain Ali Khan gladly accepted the command of the expedition. No sooner had he invaded Marwar than Raja Ajit Singh withdrew to the mountains, with all his family, treasure, and soldiery.

The Raja of Marwar must have been in some perplexity. He dared not venture to cope with the Moghul army in the plains. At the same time he was receiving letters from Farrukh Siyar exhorting Submission of
Jodhpur.

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him to stand on his defence and crush the invader. He deemed it politic to come to terms with the invader. He promised obedience for the future, engaged to send his son to tender his submission to the Moghul general, and offered to send a daughter to the imperial seraglio.

Enforced peace.

Husain Ali Khan was burning for military glory. He would have refused to make terms with the Marwar Raja, but he was receiving letters of evil omen from his brother at Delhi. Abdulla Khan reported that mischief was brewing at court, and implored his brother to return to Delhi. Accordingly Husain Ali Khan made peace with Marwar.

Sayyids discover treachery.

Husain Ali Khan returned to Delhi with the daughter of the Raja. On the way he treated the future bride of the Emperor as his own adopted daughter. He found that she had certain papers intrusted to her by her father. Of course he was soon master of their contents. He discovered that Farrukh Siyar had urged the Raja to destroy him.

Rupture and reconciliation.

Husain Ali Khan wanted to be Viceroy of the Dekhan; not that he meant to go there, but only that he might appoint a deputy and profit by the revenue. This did not suit Farrukh Siyar; there was nothing he wanted so much as to send Husain Ali Khan to a distance from his brother the Vizier. Under such circumstances the breach grew wider between the Emperor and the two Sayyids. The two brothers began to fortify their palaces and enlist troops. At last a reconciliation was effected by the mother of the Emperor. Amír Jumla, the prime enemy of the Sayyids, was sent to Patna to be Viceroy of Bihar; whilst Husain Ali Khan was sent to Aurangabad to be Viceroy of the Dekhan.

About this time Farrukh Siyar celebrated his marriage with the Marwar princess. The religious difficulty in such marriages had been easily overcome by the tolerant Akbar, and was no obstacle to the present union. When the Rajpút bride entered the seraglio, she repeated the formula of the Muhammadan faith, and received a Muhammadan name. Nothing further was required.

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Rajpút marriage.

Amír Jumla went off to Bihar, and Husain Ali Khan went off to the Dekhan; but still there was treachery. Dáúd Khan, the Afghan, was governor of Guzerat. He received from Delhi public instructions to obey the orders of Husain Ali Khan, and private instructions to destroy him; and if he succeeded in defeating and slaughtering Husain Ali Khan, he was to be appointed to the vacant post of Viceroy of the Dekhan as his reward.

More treachery.

Husain Ali Khan had no fears on his own account. He was only anxious for the welfare of his brother Abdulla. Before he left the court, he solemnly warned the Emperor that if anything happened to his brother the Vizier, he would be at Delhi within twenty days.

Emperor warned.

Dáúd Khan was lying in wait for the new Viceroy of the Dekhan. He had a strong force of Afghans; he had also a body of Mahratta horse. He had made some concessions to the Mahrattas as regards *chout*; he had also scattered Moghul titles and commands among Mahratta generals.

Dáúd Khan and the Mahrattas.

Husain Ali Khan soon found that Dáúd Khan was not a subordinate commander, but a hostile and dangerous rival. The battle was one of life and death, for, whatever might be the result, the Dekhan was to be the reward of the conqueror. Dáúd Khan's Mah-

Defeat and death of Dáúd Khan.

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rattas did nothing; they galloped about the plain at the beginning of the fight, and then looked on like unconcerned spectators. Dáúd Khan made great play with his Afghans. He pressed on towards his rival, but was shot dead by a bullet in the moment of victory. Husain Ali Khan was consequently the conqueror. The Mahratta commanders changed sides after Mahratta fashion. They made their submission to the conqueror; whilst their followers plundered Dáúd Khan's camp, and then rode off with the spoil.

Emperor
mortified.

News of the victory of Husain Ali Khan soon reached Delhi. The Emperor could not hide his mortification. He complained in the presence of the Vizier that Dáúd Khan had been shamefully put to death. Abdulla Khan resented the affront. "Had my brother," he said, "been murdered by this Afghan savage, his death would have been more welcome to your Majesty."

Sunnís and
Shíahs.

Husain Ali Khan went on to Aurangabad to settle the affairs of his new viceroyalty. Meanwhile there were fierce disputes at Delhi between Sunnís and Shíahs. The question of whether the four Khalifs were the rightful successors of the Prophet, or whether Ali was the direct successor, was not only a war of words, but of swords. Shíah singers were accustomed at Delhi to chant the praises of Muhammad, and of Ali as the first of the twelve Imáms, without any reference to the three Khalifs—Abubakr, Omar, and Othman. A Sunní saint from the provinces was aghast at this enormity. He admitted that Ali was a good man and the fourth Khalif, but denied that he was the heir to the Prophet; he was only the husband of Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet. On this point the Sunní saint preached some vigorous sermons in the chief

mosque. "Ali," he said, "was only the son-in-law of the Prophet; he was not under the cloak, he was not the offspring of Muhammad. To praise Ali and his family, whilst omitting the names of the three Khalifs who went before him, was contrary to the fundamental principles of Islam."

The Shíahs were equally hot on the other side. The three Khalifs were usurpers; Ali, and Ali alone, was the rightful successor of the Prophet. Another Friday came round; the Sunní zealot once again mounted the pulpit to launch his thunders against this soul-destroying heresy. A number of young Persian Shíahs placed themselves in front, displaying rosaries and amulets of the sacred clay of Kerbela, in which the remains of Ali had been buried. The sight was too much for the thousands of Sunnís that formed the bulk of the congregation. They rushed upon the heretics, drove them out of the mosque, and murdered not a few in the righteous determination of teaching the world who was, and who was not, the rightful successor of the glorious Prophet, the beloved of Allah.

Shíah outbreak
at Delhi.

In the midst of these troubles there was stirring news from the Punjab. Two sons of Guru Govind had been taken prisoners and put to death. The Guru was hunted down like a wild beast. He took refuge in a remote stronghold far away from his family. He was delivered from his forced captivity by some Afghans. They waited until his beard was grown, and then clothed him in the blue garb of an Afghan highlander, and palmed him off as an Afghan saint. From that day the length of beard and the blue garb became the distinctive marks of the Sikhs. But Guru Govind was broken-hearted at the loss of his sons, and perished in a melancholy mania.

Death of Gur.
Govind.

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Massacre of
Sikhs under
Bandu Guru.

Bandu, a new chief, became the Guru of the Sikhs. This man is charged by Muhammadan writers with every atrocity of which human nature is capable. The Moghul commandant of Sirhind was stabbed to death by a Sikh fanatic whilst saying his prayers. The Moghul Viceroy of the Punjab fled in terror to Lahore. At last the Moghul Viceroy of Kashmír came down and routed the Sikhs. Bandu Guru was hunted from post to post like a savage of the jungle. He flung himself into the last stronghold of the Sikhs at Gurdaspur, about ten days' journey from Delhi. He was so closely invested that not a grain of corn could find its way within the walls. The beleaguered Sikhs devoured asses and food of the vilest description; they were even driven to eat the sacred flesh of cows. The famine brought on pestilence. At last the pangs of hunger drove them to surrender. Many were tied hand and foot and massacred. The remainder were bound on camels and carried off to Delhi, preceded by a ghastly display of bleeding heads on pikes. At Delhi the prisoners were beheaded at the rate of a hundred a day. Not a man stirred, except to beg that he might be executed before his fellows. Bandu perished in every agony of mind and body that Asiatic malice could suggest; and the horrible details may well be dropped in oblivion.

Fall of Amír
Jumla.

About this time Amír Jumla suddenly arrived at Delhi from Patna. He had squandered all the public money; his army was in mutiny for want of pay; his life was threatened by the people of Bihar; and he had fled disguised as a woman in a veiled palanquin. The Emperor, however, would have nothing to say to him. Delhi was soon crowded by disbanded soldiers from Bihar, who clamoured for pay. At last Amír

Jumla was banished to Múltan, and something like quiet was restored to the capital. CHAP. VIII.

The state of Delhi at this period is brought home to Englishmen by the fact that there was an English mission at Delhi, which stayed there during two years. In 1715, two English merchants and an Armenian had gone from Calcutta to Delhi, accompanied by an English doctor named Hamilton, to lay the wrongs of the little factories at Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta before the Emperor. They reported the course of events to their masters at Calcutta, as well as the progress of their mission. They specially dilated upon the breach between the Emperor and the Sayyids; the departure of Husain Ali Khan for the Dekhan; the sickness of the Emperor, which delayed his marriage with the Marwar princess; the death of Dáúd Khan; the arrival of Bandu the Sikh with two thousand heads set upon poles; the escapade of Amír Jumla, and disturbed state of the capital. The English doctor who accompanied the mission succeeded in curing the Emperor of his distemper. The mission got all they wanted after a protracted delay, but the doctor had the greatest possible difficulty in inducing the Moghul to permit him to return to Calcutta.²

Meanwhile the finances of the empire were in utter confusion. The Vizier, Abdulla Khan, had left the duties of his office in the hands of a Hindú deputy named Ratan Chand. There were monstrous abuses in the accounts. Jaghírs had been granted to worthless persons. Hindú defaulters were screened from justice by Ratan Chand. There was a talk amongst

² The correspondence of this mission was published by the author in his "History of Madras in the Olden Time," vol. ii. It will also be found in the "Early Records of British India," already quoted.

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the Muhammedans of resuming the Jaghírs granted to Hindus, and collecting Jezya from all who refused to become Muhammedans; and these threatening rumours only increased the general alarm.

Mahratta
ravages.

Meanwhile the provinces were drifting into anarchy. The Mahrattas were ravaging towns and villages to enforce their claims to *chout*. The Moghul Viceroys sometimes defeated the Mahrattas, but, in the long-run, were helpless to resist their demands. The Vizier, Abdulla Khan, found that the Emperor and Sunní grandees were bent upon his ruin.

The crash.

The crash came at last. Husain Ali Khan marched from the Dekhan to Delhi at the head of an army, including a force of Mahratta mercenaries. The people of Delhi were terrified at the appearance of the Mahrattas; they spread abroad the wildest rumours of pillage and massacre. Meanwhile the streets and bazars were occupied by the soldiery, and the palace was surrounded by the forces of the two Sayyids.

Mahratta night
at Delhi.

The last act of the drama was like a horrible dream. The wretched Emperor was praying the two Sayyids for forgiveness. They showed him the letter which he had written to Dáúd Khan ordering the destruction of Husain Ali Khan. At midnight there was uproar and screaming in the palace. Throughout the city there was a cry that the Mahrattas were plundering and slaughtering the inhabitants. The Mahrattas were assailed by the mob, and hundreds were slain. Some of the Mahratta saddles were broken open, and found full of gold; and the sight rendered the beholders more frantic than ever.

Farrukh Siyar
deposed.

Suddenly there was a lull in the strife. The kettle-drums were thundering at the palace gates; the firing of salutes was booming through the morning air.

Farrukh Siyar had ceased to reign ; he was deprived of sight, and lay trembling in a dungeon, from which there was to be no deliverance save by the dagger or bowstring. A captive prince was taken out of the state prison of Selimghur, which adjoined the palace, and placed upon the throne of the Moghuls. He was a type of the sinking condition of the Moghul empire ; —a state prisoner, unwashed, confused, and disordered, suddenly thrust upon the throne, and adorned with a chaplet of pearls.

The Sayyids were once again masters. The new Emperor was a puppet, and died within three months. Another puppet was set up, and died within five months more. A third captive prince, with a better constitution, was taken out of the state prison and placed upon the throne. He lived to reign for twenty-eight years ; to bear the brunt of the blow which heralded the downfall of the empire. His name was Muhammad Shah.

The reign of Muhammad Shah began with plot and assassination. The grandees were weary of the Sayyids ; the new Emperor was intriguing to get rid of the Sayyids. Husain Ali Khan was marching an army towards the Dekhan, when he was suddenly stabbed to death by a Calmuk. The army declared for Muhammad Shah. The Vizier Abdulla was defeated and slain. The new Emperor took his seat upon the throne without a mentor or a rival.

The reign of Muhammad Shah presents a troubled picture of grandees intriguing for place and rank, and of endless wars against Mahratta bandits. There was no patriotism, no gallant exploit, no public virtue ; nothing but rapacity, corruption, and sensuality, such as might be expected from men of the stamp of

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Turkish Pashas, unfettered by public opinion or conventional morality. Two grandees may be named as types of the class. Saádut Khan was a Persian adventurer, who had risen to the rank of Nawab of Oude. Chín Kulich Khan, better known as Nizam-ul-Mulk, was of Turkish or Tartar origin; he had seized the viceroyalty of the Dekhan, and was rapidly becoming an independent sovereign. These two men were princes in their respective provinces; at Delhi they were rival courtiers. Saádut Khan was a Shíah; Nizam-ul-Mulk was a Sunní.

Mahratta
inroads.

The Mahrattas were the pest of India; they plundered the country, regardless of the Moghul or his Viceroys, until they had established claims to blackmail. At intervals they were checked by generals like Saádut Khan or the Nizam; but otherwise their flying hordes infested the country like locusts. If driven out of a district one year, they came again the next with claims for arrears.

The Peishwas.

The nominal sovereign of the Mahrattas was Maharaja Sahu or Shao. He was the son of Sambhaji, who had been brought up in the seraglio of Aurangzeb; and his training unfitted him for the leadership of the Mahrattas. The real sovereign was the minister, a Mahratta Brahman known as the Peishwa. The minister was the founder of a hereditary line of Peishwas, who ultimately became the recognised sovereigns of the Mahratta empire, whilst the descendants of Sahu were kept as state prisoners at Satara. There were also Mahratta leaders, subordinate to the Peishwas, who were of lower caste than Brahmans, but founded principalities under the names of Sindia, Holkar, the Bhonsla, and the Gaekwar. Their wars were those of brigands; they had nothing that can be

called history until they came in conflict with the English. The Mahratta empire was thus a loose confederation of bandit generals, with a Brahman at the head. Sometimes they threatened to plunder Delhi, but in general they were kept quiet by titles, honours, and yearly tribute. CHAP. VIII.

In 1738 there was alarming danger on the north-west frontier. There had been a revolution in Persia. The Súfi dynasty of Persian Shabs had been overturned by an Afghan invasion. A robber chief came to the front under the name of Nadir Shah. He was a conqueror of the same stamp as Chenghiz Khan or Timúr; and he soon became master of all Persia from the Tigris to the Indus, from the frontier of the Turk to that of the Moghul. Rise of
Nadir Shah.

Nadir Shah, like new potentates in general, was anxious to be recognised by contemporary sovereigns. With this view he sent ambassadors to Delhi. The Moghul court, in mingled ignorance and pride, treated the ambassadors with contempt. Nadir Shah, the conqueror of Persia and Afghanistan, was very angry. He marched from Kábul to Delhi without check or hindrance. There were no garrisons in the passes, no hill tribes to block out the Persian army. For years the subsidies granted for the purpose had all been appropriated by the Moghul Vizier at Delhi. Invasion of
Nadir Shah,
1738-39.

Both Saádut Khan and the Nizam were at Delhi. Their rivalry against each other overcame all other considerations. Saádut Khan went out with a large army to attack Nadir Shah; the Nizam out of jealousy refused to join him, and the result was that Saádut Khan was defeated and taken prisoner. Court rivalries.

The Nizam was next sent to bribe Nadir Shah to return to Persia with a sum of about two millions Malicious
treason.

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sterling. Nadir Shah was ready to take the money. Saádut Khan, however, had a grievance against both Muhammad Shah and the Nizam; he had coveted the post and title of "Amir of Amirs," and these honours had been conferred on the Nizam. Out of sheer malice Saádut Khan told Nadir Shah that the money offered was but a flea-bite to the riches of Delhi. Nadir Shah was thus persuaded to plunder Delhi. He summoned Muhammad Shah, the Moghul sovereign, to his camp. He then marched into the city of Delhi, accompanied by Muhammad Shah, and took up his quarters in the palace.

Massacres at
Delhi.

Nadir Shah posted guards in different quarters of the city. The people of Delhi looked with disgust on the strangers. Next day it was reported that Nadir Shah was dead. The people fired upon the Persians from the roofs and windows of their houses, and carried on the work of slaughter far into the night. Next morning at daybreak Nadir Shah rode into the city, and saw his soldiers lying dead in the streets. Stones, arrows, and bullets were flying around him. One of his own officers was shot dead by his side. In his wrath he ordered a general massacre. The slaughter raged throughout the day. Nadir Shah watched the butchery in gloomy silence from a little mosque in the bazar, which is shown to this day.

Sack and derolation.

At evening time Nadir Shah stopped the massacre. It is useless to guess at the numbers of the slain. Hindu and Muhammadan corpses were thrown into heaps with the timber of fallen houses, and burnt together in one vast holocaust. The imperial palace was sacked of all its treasures; and so were the mansions of the grandees. Contributions were forced from all classes; they were especially demanded from the

governors of provinces. Nadir Shah married his son to a Moghul princess. He placed Muhammad Shah upon the throne, and ordered all men to obey him under pain of punishment hereafter. He then marched back to Persia with gold and jewels to the value of many millions sterling.

Delhi had suffered the fate of Nineveh and Babylon, Anarchy. but her inhabitants were not carried away captive. Slowly they awoke out of their lethargy and returned to their daily labour. Once more there was life in the streets and bazars. But the Moghul empire was doomed; it lingered on for a few years under the shadow of a name until it was engulfed in anarchy.

After the departure of Nadir Shah, the Mahrattas Disaffection in the provinces. broke out worse than ever. They affected to be faithful servants of the Moghul; but no yearly tribute was forthcoming to bribe them to keep the peace; and they began to ravage and collect *chout* in every quarter of the empire. The Moghul Viceroy of the provinces struggled against the Mahrattas with varied success. They ceased to obey the Moghul; they became hereditary princes under the old names of Nawab and Nizam. Whenever a Viceroy died, his sons or kinsmen fought one another for the throne; and when the war was over, the conqueror sent presents and bribes to Delhi to secure letters of investiture from the Emperor. It was by taking opposite sides in these wars in the Peninsula that English and French were engaged in hostilities in India. The English eventually triumphed, and rapidly became a sovereign power.

Nadir Shah was assassinated in 1747. Had he left Alim d Shah
Abd al i, the
Afghan. religious matters alone, after the manner of Chenghiz Khan, he might have founded a permanent dynasty

CHAP. VIII. in Persia. But he thought to create an empire which should uniformly follow the Sunnî faith. With this view he tried to turn the Persians into Sunnîs; and in so doing he excited that blind zeal which brought him to a violent end. After his death the new Persian empire became broken into different kingdoms. Afghanistan fell to the lot of a warrior named Ahmad Shah Abdali. He conquered the Punjab, and converted the Moghul into a puppet and a vassal.

Conclusion.

Muhammad Shah died in 1748; so did the Nizam of the Dekhan; so did Sahu, the last Mahâraja of the Mahrattas who wielded the semblance of power. Henceforth there were puppet kings and sovereign ministers at Poona and Delhi. In 1757, the year that Clive gained the victory at Plassy in Bengal, the successor of Muhammad Shah was murdered by his minister; the Vizier fled away into obscurity; the son of the dead Moghul was a fugitive in Bengal, proclaiming himself Emperor under the high-sounding title of Shah Alam. Ahmad Shah Abdali advanced to Delhi and began a struggle with the Mahratta powers. In 1761 he gained the battle of Paniput, which crushed the Mahrattas for a while, and established the Afghans as the arbiters of the fate of Hindustan.

SUPPLEMENT : HINDU ANNALS.

No Hindu history in Moghul annals.

THE foregoing history speaks of Moghul courts and sovereigns, but tells little of the Hindu people. It furnishes glimpses of Rajpût Rajas, the vassals of the Moghul empire; but it reveals nothing of their inner life and forms of government. Above all, it is silent as regards the Rajas of the south, who lived

and reigned outside the Moghul empire, and were never brought under foreign influences until comparatively modern times. CHAP. VIII.

The so-called histories of Hindu dynasties, written by Hindu annalists, have little or no historical value. Unsatisfactory character of Hindu histories. They are strings of panegyrics, as truthful and authentic as those found in epitaphs, and with no better claims on the credibility of the reader. They are mingled with details which have small interest for Europeans, such as fabulous accounts of temples, thrones, and palaces, or wildly mythical stories of gods and Brahmans. They contain sprinklings of authentic data, which serve as guides over the dreary void; but the plainest matters of fact are glossed over with Oriental falsifications and exaggerations. Specimens have been preserved in the Appendix to the present volume, from which a mass of mythical matter has been necessarily excluded; sufficient, however, remains to enable the reader to form an idea of the character of the whole.*

It will be seen from these legends that the beginnings of every Raj or dynasty, however modern, are more or less wrapped up in fable. Fabulous origin of Hindu dynasties. The genealogists, who professed to record the history, found it necessary to coin a myth which should associate the reigning family with one or other of the heroes of the Mahá Bháratá

* A large collection of these native histories was formed by Colonel Colin Mackenzie, between the years 1796 and 1816. Many were translated into English, written out in some twenty folio volumes, and deposited in the library of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta. As far back as 1862-64, the author prepared an abstract of these manuscripts, and filled a thick folio of several hundred pages. The whole has been digested into the brief narrative printed as Appendix II. to the present volume. Small as it is, it contains nearly all that is valuable of modern Hindu history. After the rise of the British empire, more authentic details were procurable from English eye-witnesses; and these will be brought forward in dealing with the history of the British Empire in India.

CHAP. VIII. or Rámáyana, and ascribe the origin of the dominion to the supernatural interposition of gods or Brahman.

Antagonism between Brahman and Jains.

Beneath this overgrowth of myth and fable, it is easy to perceive that one important fact pervades the whole, namely, the conflict between the Brahman and the Jains; and this antagonism in various forms is still going on in the southern Peninsula. It is a conflict between theism and atheism, between gods and no gods. The Brahman promulgated a religion which enforced the worship of the gods as the rulers of the universe, or they taught the higher doctrine of a Supreme Spirit, who ruled the universe and was the universe, the Supreme Soul who created and animated all existing things. The Jains, on the other hand, taught that the gods had no real existence; that even if they did exist they had no power or authority to override the inexorable destiny which governed the universe. They promulgated the dogma that the only divine existence which had any force or efficacy was goodness; that the only goal worth striving after was perfect goodness; that the only objects deserving of reverence and worship were those holy men who had become the incarnations of goodness on earth; whose memories were to be embalmed in the hearts of all aspirants after perfect goodness; and who were to be worshipped as the only true manifestations of a divine life on earth, throughout an eternity of being.

Evidences of the antagonism in the Rámáyana.

The Jain denies that he is a Buddhist. The distinction, however, between Jain and Buddhist is of little moment in dealing with religious developments. The religion of the Jains is the outcome of the same forms of thought as that of the Buddhists. It is a

rebellion against the worship of the gods, whether considered separately, or resolved in one Supreme Being. This conflict finds expression in the Rámáyana; and it will be seen from the legends in the Appendix that this same conflict is stamped upon every myth and tradition that has been preserved of the religious history of Southern India from the remotest antiquity.

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To apprehend aright the nature of this antagonism, it should be borne in mind that originally one dogma was common to both religions. The belief in the immortality of the soul through endless transmigrations was a fundamental article of faith in the Oriental world. But whilst the Brahmans taught that a higher scale of existence hereafter was to be attained by worship and austerities, the Buddhists and Jains taught that it was only to be attained by goodness, purity, and loving-kindness. Such religious ideas, however, could not always be in antagonism; they must often have mingled in the same stream. There were Brahmans who taught that goodness, purity, and loving-kindness in thought, word, and deed were as essential as the worship of the gods in fitting and preparing the soul for a higher life hereafter. In like manner there have been Jains who taught that so far as the gods were the manifestations or representatives of goodness, they were entitled to the reverence and worship of all good men.

Both religions
associated with
the dogma of the
metempsychosis.

The religious story of Ráma reveals the nature of this early conflict between gods and no gods. The conception of Rávana, king of the Rákshasas or devils, is that of a powerful sovereign, who originally worshipped the gods, and thereby conquered an empire. Subsequently, Rávana rebelled against the gods,

Character of
Rávana as a Jain
or Buddhist.

CHAP. VIII. oppressed them, and treated them as his slaves; in other words, he prohibited the worship of the gods and persecuted the worshippers. The suffering divinities appealed to the Supreme Spirit for succour; first in the form of Brahma, and ultimately to Vishnu as greater than Brahma. The result was that Vishnu became incarnate as Râma for the destruction of Râvana.

Antagonism expressed in Hindu legends.

In the Hindu legends now presented in the Appendix, there is a conflict between Salivâhânâ and Vikramaditya, which is a reflex of the same religious idea. The incarnations of Sankara Acharya and Basava Iswara were undertaken for a like object, namely, the suppression of the Jains. The historical relics of successive Hindu empires in the south reflect a like antagonism. The legends of the Belâl empire of Karnata express both a conflict and a compromise between the two religions. The legend of the Telinga empire reveals something of a Brahmanical revival. The traditions of the empire of Vijayanagar are involved in some obscurity. The empire itself was associated with the worship of Vishnu, and the establishment of the Vaishnava religion in the room of Jains, and also of Linga-worshippers; but it was finally overthrown, not by any religious revolution within the Hindu pale, but by a confederacy of Muhammadan Sultans.

Modern Hindu annals.

The fall of the empire of Vijayanagar was brought about by the battle of Talikota in 1565, being the ninth year of the reign of Akbar, the most distinguished of the Moghul sovereigns and the real founder of the Moghul dynasty. Vijayanagar was the last of the old Hindu empires, which have dawned upon the world at different periods from the fabled

era of the Mahá Bhárata and Rámáyana.* Henceforth the Hindu provinces became independent kingdoms, and the Naiks, or deputies of the old Vijayanagar sovereigns, became independent kings or Rajas. The history is in like manner broken up into dynastic annals, corresponding to the number of petty Rajas, and bearing a general resemblance in matter and style.

The annals of the Naiks of Madura are summarised in the Appendix,† partly because they are more full than those of any other southern kingdom, and partly because they are a fair specimen of the Hindu idea of history in modern and Brahmanical times. They exhibit something of the interminable details which were compiled by family Brahmans, and passed off under the name of history. Every Raja of any note is praised in turn, but nothing whatever is said of the condition of the people under their rule. Indeed, it will be seen that as histories they are beneath criticism; and that they betray in all directions that indifference to truth, which is the main characteristic of all Hindu annals that have hitherto been recovered.‡

Annals of the
Naiks of Madura.

* Some might be inclined to regard the empire of the Mahrattas as the last of the old Hindu empires; but Sivaji was not a conqueror like Sikádiya or Asoka, but a freebooter, who founded a principality and dominion on the basis of black-mail.

† See Appendix II., sect. v.

‡ The evidence of Roman Catholic Missionaries in Southern India at the latter end of the seventeenth century furnishes a real picture of the oppressions of Rajas and the exactions of their Brahman ministers. Some extracts are quoted by Mr. Nelson in his "Manual on Madura." Some realistic descriptions of the countries will be found in the following chapter, drawn from the works of travellers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

CHAPTER IX.

MOGHUL EMPIRE : CIVILISATION.—A.D. 1600 TO 1764.

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Want of information respecting the people of India.

IN the preceding chapters the history of India has been brought down to the second half of the eighteenth century. Information has been gathered up respecting the reigns of successive Moghul sovereigns; attempts have been made to delineate their respective characters; and the daily routine of Moghul courts has been described by the light of European eye-witnesses. But the every-day life of the people at large, whether Muhammadan or Hindu, is still a blank to the imagination. The Moghul and his surroundings of ladies and grandees, of princes, generals, and soldiers, are visible enough; but there is no background to the picture; nothing that will open out the country and people to modern eyes.

Evidence of European travellers.

Much of what is wanting is supplied by educated Europeans who travelled in India during the seventeenth century and early half of the eighteenth. The evidence of some of these travellers, including Sir Thomas Roe, Mendelslo, and Bernier, has already been brought forward to illustrate the state of the court and administration under Moghul rule.¹ But there have been other eye-witnesses in India who tell less of current history, and more about the distinctive

¹ See *ante*, chaps. v. and vi.

manners and civilisation of the people. They belong to different nationalities, professions, and religions. Terry was a Protestant clergyman of the Church of England; Della Valle was a Catholic gentleman belonging to a noble family of Rome; Tavernier was a French jeweller; Thevenot was a French gentleman; Fryer was an English surgeon educated at Cambridge; Alexander Hamilton was a ship's captain; and Karstens Niebuhr was a distinguished German. All these men looked at India from different points of view. Moreover, they were separated from each other by intervals of time sufficiently near to enable them to confirm the truth of each other's story, and sufficiently remote to impart a historical significance to their respective narratives.² It may, therefore, be as well to review the evidence of each one in turn. It will then be found that their united testimony supplies the background of the picture which has hitherto been wanting to Moghul history.

The REV. MR. TERRY travelled in India between 1615 and 1618 as chaplain to the embassy of Sir Thomas Roe.³ Like a healthy young English divine, he was charmed with the abundance and cheapness of good provisions in Hindustan. The country, he says, produces wheat, rice, barley, and various other grains, all good and exceedingly cheap. The bread is whiter than that made in England, but the common people have a coarser grain, which they make up in broad cakes and bake on small round iron

Terry, 1615-18.
Abundance of
provisions.

² Terry and Della Valle travelled in India during the reign of Jehangir; Tavernier in the reign of Shah Jehan and Aurangzeb; Thevenot and Fryer in the reign of Aurangzeb; Hamilton during the decline of the Moghul empire; and Niebuhr about twenty-five years after the invasion of Nadir Shah.

³ Terry's Voyage to the East Indies. 18mo, 1655. Reprinted, 8vo, 1777.

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hearths. The people churn butter, which is soft in that hot climate, but otherwise sweet and good. They have a great number of cows, sheep, goats, and buffaloes. There is no lack of venison of various kinds, such as red deer, fallow deer, elk, and antelope. They are not kept in parks, for the whole empire is as it were a forest for the deer; and as they are every man's game, they do not multiply enough to do much harm to the corn. There is great store of hares, wild and tame fowl, and abundance of hens, geese, ducks, pigeons, turtle-doves, partridges, peacocks, and quails. They have also numerous varieties of fish. By reason of this plenty, and because many natives abstain from eating anything that has life, flesh and fish are to be bought at very easy rates, as if they were not worth the valuing.

Trade and manu-
factures.

The most important staples of the Moghul empire were indigo, which was manufactured in vats; and cotton wool, which was made into calicoes. There was also a good supply of silk, which was made into velvets, satins, and taffaties, but the best of them were not so good as those made in Italy. The English sold a few of their woollen cloths in India, but they bought most of the Indian commodities in hard silver. Many silver streams were thus running into India, whilst it was regarded as a crime to carry any quantity away.⁴

Indian annoy-
ances.

Terry dwells, however, at some length on the annoyances of Indian beasts of prey, crocodiles, scorpions, flies, mosquitoes, and chinchies.

Civility of the
people.

Terry describes the people of India as very civil unless they were affronted. When Sir Thomas Roe

⁴ The Moghuls had an instinctive objection to the exportation of silver. It was equally forbidden by the Moghul sovereigns of Hindustan and the kings of Burma.

first arrived at Surat, his English cook got drunk at some Armenian wine-dealer's. In this pot-valiant condition he met a grandee who was the brother of the Nawab of Surat. The grandee was on horseback, and accompanied by a number of retainers; yet the drunken cook called him a heathen dog, and struck at him with a sword, and was arrested by the retainers and put into prison. Roe wrote to the Nawab of Surat to say that he would not patronise any disorderly person, and accordingly left the Englishman to be punished as the Moghul authorities might think fit. Presently, however, the drunken cook was restored to his master, without having received any punishment at all.⁵

Terry, accompanied by four Englishmen and twenty natives, proceeded, with six waggons laden with presents for Jehangir, from Surat to Mandu, a journey of about four hundred miles. At night-time, the party halted outside some large town or village, arranging their waggons in a ring, and pitching their huts within the circle. They kept watch in turns, but they were accompanied by a servant of the Viceroy of Guzerat; and whenever there was any suspicion of danger, this servant procured a company of horsemen as a guard. As it happened, however, the journey was accomplished without a single encounter.

Journey from
Surat to Mandu.

At one place the inhabitants persisted in guarding them all night, although told they were not wanted. Next morning they demanded payment, and being refused, three hundred men came out and stopped the waggons. One of the Englishmen pre-

Settlement of a
dispute.

⁵ The Moghul authorities were always polite to English visitors so long as those visitors were polite and courteous in return. But the lower orders of Englishmen, then as now, were too often insolent and arrogant towards native authorities. Roe, as will be seen, behaved like a gentleman.

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pared to fire his musket ; and the men themselves began to bend their bows. At this moment it was discovered that a gift equal to three shillings sterling would satisfy the whole three hundred. The money was accordingly paid, and the men went away quite contented.

Rash English-
man.

On another occasion, a hot-headed young gentleman from England gave some trouble. He had arrogantly ordered the servant of the Viceroy of Guzerat to hold his horse, and the man had refused to do his bidding. Accordingly, the rash English youth laid his horse-whip about the man's shoulders, and fired a pistol, tearing the man's coat and bruising his knuckles. The offender was soon disarmed, and the servant was propitiated with a rupee and a promise of more money on reaching Mandu. The servant seemed satisfied at the time, and it was thought that the whole thing was forgotten. Ten hours afterwards, however, a native grandee passed by with a large train, and the servant complained to the great man of the treatment he had received. The grandee said that the English were in the wrong, but that it was no business of his, and so went his way. That same night the English party halted near a large town, and the servant complained to the inhabitants. Many of the people came out of the town and looked at the strangers, but did nothing. All the English kept watch that night to guard against any surprise from the townspeople ; but next morning the servant was quieted with a little money and many good words, and nothing more was heard of the matter.

Hill robbers ;
trustworthy
guards.

There were, however, mountains and forests in part of the country between Surat and Mandu which were infested by robbers ; and travellers

often hired stout daring men, such as Beloochis, Patans, or Rajpúts, as guards. These men were so trustworthy that they were always ready to die in defence of the property they were engaged to protect. Terry said that an English merchant might have travelled alone under such a guard from Surat to Lahore with a treasure of gold and jewels ; and so long as the men received their fair wages, not one would have touched a penny of it. Terry doubted if an Indian merchant could have done the same in England without being robbed and murdered. Terry, it will be remembered, flourished in the reign of James the First.

The faithfulness of servants in India was said to be very remarkable. Their pay, equal to five shillings a month, was given them every new moon, but they always required a month's pay in advance. One of the camel-leaders in Terry's party received his pay regularly for two months, but at the end of the third month was told to wait a day or two, when a fresh supply of cash would come to hand. The man was offended at the delay, and took a solemn farewell of his camel, and then went away and was never seen again.⁶ The other servants stayed with the party, and were paid within the specified time.

Terry furnishes some particulars respecting the Great Moghul and the general administration of the country, which are valuable as expressions of contemporary opinion. The Great Moghul, he says, is an overgrown power in respect to the vast extent of his territories. He is like a huge pike in a great pond that preys upon all his neighbours. Consequently,

⁶ Terry can scarcely have told this story as a proof of the faithfulness of native servants.

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the native princes outside his dominions purchase his forbearance by large presents and homage, and by a submissive acknowledgment of his mighty power.⁷ He is master of unknown treasures, and can command what number of men he pleases. His armies consist of incredible multitudes, but the officers are not learned in the art of war, and they are in need of skilful captains and commanders.

Absence of written laws.

There were no laws to regulate justice but what were written in the breasts of the Moghul and his Viceroys. The governors often proceeded as they pleased in punishing the offender rather than the offence: men's persons more than their crimes.

Diversities in capital punishments.

Murder and theft were punished with death, and with that kind of death which the judge pleased to impose. Some malefactors were hanged, some were beheaded, some were impaled, some were torn to pieces by wild beasts, some were killed by elephants, and some were stung to death by snakes.⁸

Frequent transfers of Viceroys.

The Moghul never suffered any one of his Viceroys to tarry long in one government. After one year, he generally removed them elsewhere, so that none might become too popular or powerful in any particular province.

Kotwals and Kázís.

The Moghul and his Viceroys adjudicated all cases of life and death. There were officers to assist them, who were known as Kotwals; and it was the business of the Kotwal to arrest offenders and bring them before the judge. There were other judges, known as Kázís, but they only meddled with contracts, debts, and other civil matters. The Kotwal arrested both

⁷ Terry is probably alluding to the Rajpút Rajas.

⁸ Terry was writing in the reign of Jehangir. It will be seen hereafter that Aurangzeb reserved to himself the right of passing sentence on all capital cases.

debtors and sureties, and brought them before the Kází; and if the debt was not satisfied, both debtors and sureties were imprisoned and fettered, or sold into slavery, together with their wives and children.⁹

PIETRO DELLA VALLE was a noble Italian from Rome, and a Roman Catholic by birth, education, and conviction. He had no taste for trade or profit of any kind; on the contrary, he looked down with contempt on the Portuguese in India, who affected to be soldiers and gentlemen, whilst their daily lives were absorbed in the pursuit of gain. Della Valle visited India out of an intelligent curiosity, begotten of the learning of the time, to discover any affinities that might exist between the religion of Egypt and that of India. He had previously travelled in Turkey and Persia, and had lost a dearly beloved wife. In India he found a change of scene, but he could not throw off the melancholy which often tinges his narrative.¹⁰

Pietro Della Valle, 1623-25.

Della Valle landed at Surat, on the western coast of India, in February 1623. The port belonged to the Moghuls, and was already the resort of European

Surat: Dutch and English factories; hatred of the Portuguese.

⁹ This barbarous custom prevailed in all Moghul countries, and exists to this day in the dominions of the king of Burma.

¹⁰ Della Valle's Travels in the East Indies. English translation, folio. London, 1665. Della Valle was born in 1586, and set out on his travels in 1614, when he was twenty-eight years of age. He landed at Surat in 1623, when he was thirty-seven years of age. The story of his marriage is a forgotten romance. At Bagdad he had fallen in love with a young Maronite lady, whom he calls Madame Maani. He married Maani, and she accompanied him during his subsequent travels through Kurdistan and Persia. In his letters to his friends in Italy, he describes her as a model of beauty, accomplishments, and virtue. She died in Persia in 1621, and the bereaved husband had her body embalmed, and carried it with him during his subsequent travels in India. In 1626, five years after her death, her remains were buried in the Chapel of St. Paul with great pomp and ceremony; and Della Valle pronounced a funeral oration, expressing his intention of being laid in the same place that their two souls might rise together at the last day.

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traders, especially Dutch and English. Both Dutch and English had factories at Surat, and thence carried on a trade with Persia on one side, and the Eastern Archipelago on the other. At this period neither Madras, Bombay, nor Calcutta had any existence. Farther south, half-way between Surat and Cape Comorin, the Portuguese had a city and territory at Goa; and Goa had been the capital of the Portuguese empire in the East, and the residence of a Portuguese Viceroy, for more than a century. The Portuguese were Catholics, and hated both the English and the Dutch as heretics in religion and rivals in the Eastern trade. On the other hand, both English and Dutch were equally bitter against the Portuguese, not only as Papists, but as claiming to hold, by some dubious grant from the Pope, a monopoly of all the trade to the eastward.

Signora Mari-
uccia.
Politeness of
Moghul custom-
house officers.

Della Valle was accompanied on his voyage to Surat by a young girl named Signora Mariuccia, who had been brought up in his family from infancy, and seems to have been a favourite of his deceased wife. The custom-house officials at Surat had been rude to Sir Thomas Roe and Mandelslo; and even Della Valle complained of the strictness with which they examined every article of baggage; but they behaved like gentlemen towards the Signora. They required to be informed of her quality, and ordered that she should be politely treated and protected from any violence or disorder. Meanwhile, a certain Donna Lucia, the wife of one of the most eminent Dutchmen at Surat, sent a coach to bring away the Signora, and accommodate her in her own house.¹¹

¹¹ This young girl is frequently mentioned by Della Valle in subsequent parts of his travels, under the more familiar name of Mariam Tinitin.

At this period the English in India were all bachelors, or living as bachelors; for those who had been married in England were strictly prohibited by the laws of the East India Company from having their wives out in India. The Dutch, however, were mostly married men living with their wives. Originally the Dutch had been under the same restrictions as the English, but they had recently planted a colony in Java under the name of New Batavia, and great privileges had been offered to every Dutchman who married a wife and settled in Java. Accordingly, all unmarried Dutchmen in Surat were bent on finding wives, as one of the necessary conditions of a trading life in the East. In the absence of European women, they married Armenians, Syrians, and even Hindus; in fact, a Dutchman was ready to marry a wife belonging to any class or nationality, provided only that she was a Christian or would become a Christian. Della Valle states, and there is no reason to discredit him, that sometimes a Dutchman bought a female slave in the bazar, and required her to become a Christian, in order to marry her at once and carry her off to Java.

Donna Lucia, who took charge of the young Signora Mariuccia, had been the heroine of a strange adventure. It was the custom of the king of Portugal to send a number of well-born orphan girls every year to Goa, with sufficient dowries to procure them husbands in Portuguese India. Donna Lucia was one of three Portuguese orphan girls of good family who had been sent to India the previous year. The fleet which carried them was attacked by the Dutch, who captured some of the ships, and carried off the three damsels to Surat. Being passably handsome, the

Adventures of
Donna Lucia,
the Catholic
captive.

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most eminent merchants in Surat were anxious to marry them. All three became Protestants, and were provided with Protestant husbands. Two had gone off with their husbands to Java or elsewhere, but Donna Lucia had married the wealthiest Dutchman at Surat and remained there. Della Valle found, however, to his great joy, that Donna Lucia was only a Protestant in name. She had been obliged to conform publicly to the Protestant "heresy," but was a Catholic in private, with the knowledge and connivance of her Protestant husband.

Religious toleration of Jehangir.

At the time of Della Valle's visit to Surat the Moghul rule was tolerant in the extreme. The Emperor Jehangir was a Mussulman, but not a pure one; and Christians, Hindus, and people of all religions were allowed to live as they pleased, and in what style they pleased. The president of the English factory and the commendator of the Dutch factory went abroad with the same state as Moghul grandees, accompanied by music and streamers, and a train of native servants armed with bows and arrows, and swords and bucklers. Such weapons were not necessary for protection, but were part of the pomp which was affected by every great man in India.

Native servants and slaves.

Native servants, says Della Valle, cost very little in India; three rupees a month was the regular rate of wages in the best families. There were also numerous slaves, who cost less; they were clad in cottons, which were very cheap, and lived on rice and fish, which were very plentiful.

Curiosity of Della Valle as regards the Hindus.

Della Valle was not interested in the Muham-madans. He had seen enough of them during his previous travels in Turkey and Persia. He was, however, anxious to see as much as possible of the

Hindus, especially as they were allowed to practise all their religious rites at Surat, excepting that of widow-burning or Satí. He adds, however, that the Nawab of Surat might, if he thought proper, permit a widow to burn herself alive with her deceased husband ; but this permission could only be obtained by bribes. Della Valle saw a marriage procession of two boy-bridegrooms and two girl-brides, but there was nothing in it beyond the usual pomp of music and streamers.

Della Valle witnessed a religious rite in Surat which is not often described by travellers.¹² He saw the worship of Parvatí, the wife of Siva, in the form of a tree. A circle was carved on the trunk of the tree, to represent the face of the goddess. It was painted flesh colour, and decorated around with flowers and leaves of betel, which were often renewed. It was set about with eyes of gold and silver, the gifts of pious votaries, who had been cured of diseases of the eye. Overhead was a great bell, and this bell was rung, not to summon the worshippers to devotion, but to call upon the goddess to listen to their prayers.¹³

When the worshippers had rung the bells, they joined their hands in the attitude of prayer. They next stretched their hands down to the ground, and then slowly raised them to their lips, and finally ex-

¹² The worship of trees is universal in India, and the religious rites described by Della Valle are precisely those that may still be seen. The worship of trees and rivers finds expression in the Rámáyana (see History of India, vol. ii.). The worship of a mountain is described in the legends of Krishna (see History, vol. i.).

¹³ This idea of bells is essentially Oriental. A great bell was hung up in like manner in the palaces of Hindu Rajas, and even in the palace of the Great Moghul, and was rung by petitioners to induce the sovereign to listen to their complaints.

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tended them as high as possible over their heads. Some said their prayers standing; others prostrated themselves on the earth, or touched the ground with their foreheads, and performed other acts of humility. Next they walked one or more times round the tree, and sprinkled the idol with rice, oil, milk, and other like offerings. But there was no sprinkling of blood. Indeed the slaughter of animals, even for sacrifice, was regarded as a mortal sin. Some gave alms to the priest who attended upon the idol; in return they were presented with a portion of the flowers and leaves of betel which surrounded the idol. They kissed these flowers and leaves with great devotion, and placed them on their heads in token of reverence.

Chapel for healing barren women.

Beside the tree was a little chapel with a narrow window which served for entrance. Barren women entered that chapel, and some time afterwards found themselves with child. This result was ascribed to the presence of priests within the chapel.¹⁴

Rebellion of Shah Jehan at Agra.

Della Valle stayed only a few days at Surat. He was anxious to go to Cambay, about eighty miles to the northward, where the Hindus were more numerous. The times were troubled. Shah Jehan, the eldest son of Jehangír, was in open rebellion against his father, and marching an army towards Agra. On the eve of Della Valle's departure from Surat, news arrived from Agra that Jehangír had sent Asof Khan to Agra to remove the imperial treasures before Shah Jehan should arrive there.¹⁵

Della Valle at Cambay.

Della Valle made the journey from Surat to Cambay

¹⁴ Similar abominations are carried on in India to this day, especially in the territories of Rajpút princes.

¹⁵ This incident has already been related in dealing with the reign of Jehangír. There are several authorities for the same story. Della Valle, however, fixes the date, 1623.

in four days, and lodged at the house of the Dutch merchants, who treated him with great hospitality.

The strangest things to be seen at Cambay were the hospitals for sick and lame animals. The Hindus maintained these hospitals because they believed in the transmigration of the soul after death, and imagined that tending sick animals was equivalent to tending the souls of departed men. Della Valle visited a hospital for lame or diseased birds of all kinds, wild and domestic. Those which recovered were set at liberty : the wild ones flew away ; the domestic ones were given to some pious person to keep in his own house. In the same hospital were certain orphan mice without sire or dam. An old man with a white beard, and spectacles on his nose, kept the mice in a box with cotton wool, and gave them milk with a bird's feather.

Hospital for
birds and mice.

Della Valle also visited a hospital of goats and sheep ; some were sick or lame ; others had been redeemed from Muhammadan butchers by the payment of ransom. There was another hospital of cows and calves ; some had broken legs ; others were old, infirm, or very lean. A Muhammadan thief, who had been deprived of his hands, was also maintained in the same hospital.

Hospital for
goats, sheep,
and cows.

No ransom was paid for the redemption of cows or calves, as the Hindus of Cambay had prevailed on the Moghul with a large sum of money to prohibit the slaughter of those animals under heavy penalties. If any man, Muhammadan or otherwise, slaughtered a cow or calf at Cambay, he was in danger of losing his life.

Cow-killing
prohibited by
the Moghuls.

In the neighbourhood of Cambay, Della Valle saw a troop of naked Yogis, smeared with ashes, earth,

Hindu Yogis.

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and colours. They were sitting on the ground in a circle, making a ring round their Archimandrita or leader. This man was held in the highest respect for holiness, not only by the Yogis, but by the common people. Many grave persons went and made low reverences to him, kissed his hands, and stood in a humble posture before him; whilst he affected a strange scorn of all worldly things, and scarcely deigned to speak to those that came to honour him. The Yogis lived upon alms, and despised clothes and riches. They feigned to lead lives of celibacy, but were known to commit debaucheries. They formed societies under the obedience of their superiors, but otherwise wandered about the world without having any settled abode. Their habitations were the fields, the streets, the porches, the courts of temples, and under the trees, especially where any idol was worshipped. They underwent with the utmost patience the rigour of the night air or the excessive heat of the midday sun. They had spiritual exercises, and some pretensions to learning; but Della Valle discovered that their so-called wisdom chiefly consisted in arts of divination, secrets of herbs, and other natural things; also in magic and enchantments, to which they were much addicted, and by means of which they boasted of doing great wonders.

Sack and outrage at Agra by Shah Jehan.

In March 1623 Della Valle returned to Surat. Further news had been received from Agra. Shah Jehan had taken and sacked the city, but failed to capture the fortress which contained the imperial treasure. Fearful barbarities had been committed by the rebel prince and his soldiery. The citizens of Agra had been put to the torture to force them to discover their secret hoards. Many ladies of quality

had been outraged and mangled. Meanwhile Jehangír suspected that Asof Khan was implicated in the rebellion, and placed him in close custody. It was reported that Jehangír was marching an army very slowly towards Agra.

Della Valle next proposed going to Goa, the famous capital of Portuguese India. Goa was nearly four hundred miles to the south of Surat. The distance was too great for a land journey, whilst the voyage was dangerous on account of the Malabar pirates that infested those waters. At last Della Valle arranged to undertake the voyage in the company of a large Portuguese convoy.

Proposed voyage to Goa.

At starting there was a domestic difficulty. Della Valle had taken a Muhammadan boy into his service in Persia, named Galal, and induced him to become a Christian. On arriving at Surat, Galal ignored his conversion, and declared himself a Mussulman. At first Della Valle thought the boy was acting through fear of the Moghul authorities ; but soon had reason to suspect him of an intention of returning to the religion of the Koran. The custom-house officials interfered, and refused to allow Galal to accompany his Christian master to a Christian country like Goa, where he might be perverted from the religion of the Prophet. Della Valle was so angry that he threatened the boy with death if he ventured to turn Mussulman. On this Galal was so frightened at the prospect that he resolved to remain a Christian ; and he accordingly managed to escape from Surat, and eventually accompanied his master to Goa.

Story of Galal, the converted Mussulman.

Della Valle left Surat on the 24th of March 1623, and reached Goa on the 8th of April. The city was the metropolis of all the Portuguese possessions in

Description of the island of Goa.

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the East. It was seated on one of the numerous islands off the western coast, which were formed by rivers that separated them from the mainland. It was built on the innermost side of the island, facing the continent; but the whole island, especially near the bank of the river, was adorned with towns and country-houses, in the midst of groves of palm trees and delightful gardens. The island was nearly environed by a wall, especially on the land side, and the gates were continually guarded. This was necessary to repel the attacks of Mahratta and Muhammadan neighbours, and to prevent the outlet of thieves or slaves, who might otherwise escape over the river into the dominions of the Muhammadan Sultan of Bijápur. On the sea side such precautions were unnecessary. Here there were numerous islets and peninsulas belonging to the Portuguese, which were occupied by towns and numerous churches.

City of Goa;
numerous
churches and
priests.

Della Valle entered the river of Goa from the north side. As he reached the inmost recess he saw the city stretched out on his right hand. It was built partly upon a plain, and partly on pleasant hills; and from the tops of these hills there was a charming prospect of the whole island and the sea beyond. The buildings were good, large, and convenient. They were contrived, for the most part, to receive the breezes and fresh air which moderated the extreme heats. The churches were the finest buildings in Goa. Many were held by religious orders, such as Augustines, Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Jesuits. Indeed, there were too many priests at Goa; half the number would have sufficed for a much larger city. Besides the religious orders, there

were many secular priests, parishes, and chapels, and, lastly, the cathedral. CHAP. IX.

The native inhabitants of Goa were numerous, but the most part were slaves. They were a black generation, ill clad, and a disparagement to the city. Native population.

The Portuguese were few in number, and had much declined of late years. They used to be rich, but had lost their wealth through the incursions of the Dutch and English, and become very poor. In outward appearance they still lived in some splendour, for the country was very plentiful, and they made a show of all they had. But in secret they suffered great hardships. They were all desirous of being accounted gentlemen; and rather than submit to mechanical employments, they underwent much distress, and even went out begging in the evening. They all professed arms, and claimed to be considered as soldiers, the married as well as the single. Few, except priests and doctors of law and physic, were seen without a sword. Even the artificers and meanest plebeians carried swords and wore silk clothes. Poverty and pride of the Portuguese.

Della Valle found the Portuguese singularly squeamish. He was accompanied by the young girl, Mariam Tinitin, who had been brought up in his house from a little child, and was always treated as his own daughter; but the Portuguese of Goa held it to be contrary to good manners that the two should be dwelling in the same house. Della Valle accordingly placed Mariam Tinitin in the charge of a Portuguese gentlewoman; but he could not help remarking on the depravity which was often to be found amongst near relations at Goa, and which rendered such pre- Significant squeamishness.

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cautions necessary to prevent public scandal.¹⁶ As regards Della Valle, however, his feelings were destined to undergo an extraordinary change. The story has already been told of his burying his beloved wife with great pomp at Rome, and delivered an oration over her remains. Subsequently he married Mariam Tinitin.

Learned Jesuit missionaries.

Della Valle lodged for a few days in a convent of the Jesuits. Here he found many Italian fathers, besides Portuguese, Castilians, and priests of other nations. The Jesuits employed many Italian fathers on missions to China, Japan, India, and other countries in the East. Many of these missionaries were learned and accomplished men. One was skilled in the languages of China and Japan; another was a great mathematician; a third was learned in Greek and Arabic; whilst one priest was distinguished as a painter.

Procession of the Holy Sacrament.

On the 27th of April 1623 there was a solemn procession at Goa of the most Holy Sacrament for the annual feast of Corpus Christi. The procession was made by the whole clergy, with a greater show of green boughs than clothes. Mysteries were represented by persons in disguise, accompanied by fictitious animals, dances, and masquerades. These things were not to Della Valle's liking. He says that in Italy they would have been better suited to rural villages than to great cities.

Fleet courier from Madrid overland.

On the 11th of May a Portuguese gentleman arrived

¹⁶ Other old travellers to Goa bear similar testimony to the vices of the Portuguese in India. The strictest laws were found necessary to keep the sexes apart in ordinary domestic life. The same depraved inclinations are to be found to this day amongst the lower orders of half-caste Portuguese at Calcutta.

at Goa ; he had come from the court of Spain over-land through Turkey. He was said to have made a rapid journey ; he brought letters from Madrid dated the end of October, and landed at Goa in little more than six months. At Marseilles he met the courier who was carrying the tidings to Madrid that the Portuguese had lost their famous settlement in the island of Ormuz in the Persian Gulf. He brought out a variety of news from Europe, especially that five saints had been canonised in one day, namely, Ignatius Loyola, Francis Xavier, Philip Neri, Teresa, and Isidore.

Saint Teresa was the founder of the order of the barefooted Carmelites. Accordingly, the Carmelites at Goa determined to celebrate her canonisation at once, to prevent its being confounded with the canonisation of Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the order of the Jesuits. The ceremonial took place on the 20th of May, being nine days after the arrival of the news. Two Portuguese boys, richly clad in riding-habits as couriers, were sent to announce the canonisation of Saint Teresa to the Viceroy of Goa in certain appropriate verses. The same boys proclaimed the glorious occasion with the sound of a trumpet throughout the streets of Goa, and scattered the verses amongst the people of the city. Meanwhile the bells in all the churches were ringing with joy ; for so the Bishop had given orders. At night there were displays of fireworks throughout the city ; whilst all the chief Portuguese of the place paraded the streets in various disguises after the manner of a masquerade. Della Valle went in the garb of an Arab gentleman, and was accompanied by a boy dressed as a Persian soldier.

Proclamation of
Saint Teresa by
the barefooted
Carmelites.

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Feast of Saint John the Baptist; performances of the Kanarese Christians.

On the 24th of June the feast of Saint John the Baptist was celebrated at Goa. The Viceroy and other Portuguese gentlemen rode through the city in masquerade habits, but without masks. They next heard Mass in the church of Saint John, and then went to the large street of Saint Paul. Many companies of Kanarese Christian soldiers marched past with ensigus, drums, and arms, leaping and playing along the streets with drawn swords in their hands. Della Valle saw the show from the house of a native who was called King of the Maldives. The ancestors of this man had been real kings, but he had been driven out of his dominions by his own subjects; and he had fled to Goa and turned Christian, in the hope that the Portuguese would help him to recover his kingdom. He soon discovered that he had been deceived; and there were many other princes in India who had been deceived by the Portuguese in like manner.

Canonisation of Ignatius and Xavier celebrated by the Jesuits.

Subsequently the Jesuits of the college of Saint Paul celebrated the canonisation of their two saints, Ignatius and Xavier, and the splendour of the ceremonial far exceeded that of the Carmelites. All the collegians came forth in a great cavalcade, divided into three squadrons under three banners. One squadron represented Europe, the second Asia, and the third Africa; and the men of each squadron were dressed in the costumes of the nations of their respective continents. Before the cavalcade went a chariot of clouds, with Fame on the top, who sounded her trumpet to the accompaniment of other music, and proclaimed the canonisation of Ignatius and Xavier. Two other chariots followed; one represented Faith, or the Church; the other was a

Mount Parnassus, carrying Apollo and the Muses as representatives of the sciences taught in the college. Five great pyramids, covered with pictures, were also drawn along on wheels by men on foot. The first was painted with all the martyrs of the order of Jesuits. The second was painted with doctors and authors belonging to the same order. The third was painted with figures of every nation to which the Jesuits had sent missions, and thus represented the various languages in which the Jesuits preached and taught. The fourth pyramid was painted with devices showing all the provinces of the said religion. The fifth displayed all the miracles which had been performed by the two saints, Ignatius and Xavier. These pyramids were drawn through the principal streets, and then placed as monuments in different parts of the city.

On the first Sunday in Lent the Augustine fathers made a solemn procession to represent the footsteps of our Lord during His Passion. They carried a figure of Christ with a cross on his shoulders, and many scourged themselves as they walked along. They were clad in white sackcloth, very gravely, according to the humour of the Portuguese nation. Altars had been set up at certain places in the city, and the procession halted at each altar, whilst the fathers sang appropriate hymns. After a while the figure of Christ was turned back, and the people filled the air with their lamentations.

There was no city in the world where there were so many processions as in Goa. The religious orders were rich and numerous, and the priests were vastly in excess of the needs of the city. At the same time the people of Goa were naturally idle and addicted to

Procession of
our Lord's
Passion.

Multitude of
processions and
priests at Goa.

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shows. They neglected matters of more weight, and more profit to the public, and readily busied themselves in these exhibitions.

Objections of
Della Valle.

Della Valle remarked that, from a religious point of view, such shows were all very well as part of Divine worship; but from a worldly point of view they were unprofitable, and much too frequent. The crowd of monks and ecclesiastics was burdensome to the state and prejudicial to the militia. Goa was a city bordering on enemies; it was the metropolis of a kingdom lying in the midst of barbarians. Under such circumstances the utmost attention should have been given to fleets and armies.

Low tone of
Christianity at
Goa.

Della Valle furnishes a striking illustration of the low tone of Christian thought in Goa. During Lent there were sermons preached at evening time in the different churches on the Passion of our Lord. At the end of these sermons pictures were exhibited by lighted tapers; one day that of "Ecce Homo," another day that of our Lord carrying the cross, and on the last day there was a picture of the Crucifixion. Sometimes the figures in the pictures were made to move and turn; thus a robe fell from the "Ecce Homo" and discovered the wounded body. At this sight the people raised prodigious cries and the women shrieked and screamed. The gentlewomen were so zealous that they not only cried out themselves, but obliged their maids to cry out in like manner; and if there was any failure in this respect, they would beat their maids in church, and that very loudly, so that every one could hear them.

Embassy from
Goa to the Raja
of Kanara.

In October 1623 the Viceroy of Goa proposed sending an ambassador to the Raja of Kanara, a potentate whose dominions lay at some distance to

the south of Goa. Della Valle was very anxious to see some Hindu country under Hindu rule, where the people performed their own rites after their own manner, without any interference from Muhammadan or Christian masters. Accordingly he accompanied the ambassador on his mission to Kanara.

Before describing Della Valle's visit to Southern India, it may be as well to glance at the general history of the Peninsula. History of Southern India.

There were three traditional Hindu empires or nationalities in the south, which are distinguished by their respective languages; namely, the Telinga, the Tamil, and the Kanarese. Each of these empires was occasionally disjointed into groups of kingdoms, and sometimes one or more kingdoms were consolidated into some temporary empire. The Telinga empire of Vijayanagara, the Tamil kingdom of Madura, and the Kanarese empire of the Belál dynasty, might be accepted as representatives of such Hindu states and powers; but it must always be borne in mind, in dealing with Hindu history, that whilst the political areas were constantly changing, the areas of the respective languages remained the same.¹⁷ Three Hindu empires: Telinga, Tamil, and Kanarese.

When a Hindu empire was broken up, its provinces became kingdoms, and the Naik or deputy governor of a province became an independent Raja. The breaking-up of the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar is an illustration of these revolutions. A number of petty princes, like the Naiks of Kanara, Mysore, Vellore, Tanjore, and Madura, sprang into existence, and were soon engaged in intermittent wars amongst them- Conversion of provinces into kingdoms and Naiks into Rajas.

¹⁷ See Appendix II., Hindu Annals.

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selves.¹⁸ Della Valle's visit to the south will bring some of these petty Rajas under close review.

Successful wars
of Venk-tapa
Naik of Kanara.

According to Della Valle, the Raja of Kanara was known by the name of Venk-tapa Naik. The father or predecessor of this prince was some time vassal of the great Raja of Vijayanagar; but after the downfall of that empire he became absolute sovereign of the province of which he had been hitherto only governor. Venk-tapa Naik was a good soldier, and had greatly enlarged his dominions by seizing the territories of his neighbours. He had gone to war with a neighbouring prince, known as the Raja of Banghel, who was an ally of Portugal. He had dispossessed the Raja of his fort and territory, and defeated a Portuguese force which had been sent to restore the Raja to the throne of Banghel.

Interference of
war with the
pepper trade.

In spite of this victory over the Portuguese forces, Venk-tapa Naik was anxious for peace with Portugal. His country produced much pepper, and the Portuguese were accustomed to buy it. Moreover, the Portuguese owed him a large balance for the pepper of the previous year. He was thus ready to form an alliance with the Viceroy of Goa, but he suspected that the Viceroy wanted him to restore the territory and fortress of Banghel, and he was resolved to do nothing of the kind. He sent a Brahman named Vitula Sinay to Goa, and this Brahman had carried on some negotiations with the Portuguese Viceroy, and was now returning to Kanara, accompanied by the Portuguese ambassador and Della Valle.

¹⁸ The legends of the Naiks of Madura furnish a fair specimen of the Hindu annals of these little Rajas. See Appendix II.

Strictly speaking, the old Rajas of Vellore were not Naiks, but representatives of the old family of Vijayanagar, and as such claimed to be suzerains over the whole Peninsula.

The country intervening between Goa and Kanara belonged to the Muhammadan Sultan of Bijápur. The journey between the two territories might thus have been made by land, but the Sultan's officers were not always courteous to the Portuguese. It was therefore resolved to send the embassy by sea. The Brahman, Vitula Sinay, went in one ship, and the Portuguese ambassador and Della Valle went in another. Three other ships carried the baggage, as well as horses and other presents for Venk-tapa Naik. The whole were accompanied by a convoy of Portuguese war-frigates under the command of a Portuguese admiral.

The fleet sailed from Goa to the Portuguese port of Onore, a distance of eighteen leagues.¹⁹ The voyage was marked by incidents peculiar to the seventeenth century. There was a difficulty about seamen. Goa was on the decline, and the Sultan of Bijápur would not permit the Portuguese ships to enter his ports and engage mariners. Next there was a bootless chase of Malabar corsairs; but, after some delay, the fleet arrived at Onore.

Want of seamen.
Malabar pirates.

The port of Onore was a fair specimen of a Portuguese settlement. There was a large fort with a commandant. Most of the married Portuguese lived within the fort in separate houses, having wells and gardens. The streets within the fort were large and fair, and there was also a piazza which would hold all the inhabitants in the event of a siege. There were two churches, but only one priest, who was the vicar of the Archbishop of Goa.

Portuguese fort
at Onore.

Within this secluded fort there had been an citing scandal. The wife of the commandant was

EX-Scandal at Onore.

¹⁹ Onore appears on modern maps under the name of Hunalwar.

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very jealous. She had banished a servant who was supposed to have carried messages from the commandant to other ladies. The vicar had interfered, and there had been a grand quarrel between the commandant and the vicar. The ambassador had been ordered to make peace between the two. He was said to have succeeded as far as outward appearances were concerned, but it was only a forced reconciliation.

Story of Venk-tapa Naik and his Muhammadan mistress.

Della Valle and the embassy were delayed some days at Onore. The kingdom of Venk-tapa Naik bordered on Onore;²⁰ but the Raja had lost a beloved wife, and would not see any one. A curious story was told of this queen. Both she and her husband were Hindus of the caste and religion of the Lingavants.²¹ After many years of married life, the queen discovered that her husband kept a Muhammadan mistress. She would have overlooked the affront had her rival been a pure Hindu, but the woman was a Muhammadan, and an eater of flesh meat, and the connection was regarded as impure. Accordingly the Hindu queen vowed that she would never more live with Venk-tapa excepting as his daughter. The Raja implored her to change her mind, and offered to pay a large sum for the redemption of her vow, but she remained obdurate until death.

Venk-tapa Naik perplexed at the Portuguese ambassador.

But Venk-tapa had other reasons, besides grief for

²⁰ The Raj of Kanara under Venk-tapa Naik extended from Onore to Mangalore, and included the Raj of Karnata. At Mangalore the country to the southward was known as Malabar, and formed the dominion of the Zamorin. Mangalore was, in fact, the boundary between Kanara and Malabar. At a later period Cannanore became the frontier.

²¹ The Lingavants were worshippers of the linga or phallus as an emblem of the Supreme Being and Creator of the universe. This strange faith was not incompatible with morals, as the symbol is said to be devoid of all grossness in the minds of the worshippers.

the loss of his queen, for not wishing to see the Portuguese ambassador. He suspected that the ambassador would demand the restoration of Banghel. He was angry with the Portuguese for not having paid for last year's pepper, and he was troubled about the sale of the pepper for the current year. He saw that the fortunes of the Portuguese were on the decline, and he was inclined to take advantage of their weakness, and carry matters with a high hand.

At last the embassy set out from Onore to go to the city of Ikkeri, the capital of Venk-tapa's kingdom of Kanara. Some difficulties were felt in the way of provisions and coolies; but the Brahman envoy made excuses for all shortcomings, and did his best to smooth matters. Three leagues to the south of Onore was the city of Garsopa, which had been ruined by Venk-tapa Naik. In former years there had been a queen of Garsopa, who was known to the Portuguese as the Queen of Pepper. In that country the queens took as many lovers or husbands as they pleased, but the queen of Garsopa chose a mean man and a stranger, who at last took possession of her kingdom. The queen appealed to the Portuguese for help against the traitor, who in his turn applied for help to Venk-tapa Naik. In the end, Venk-tapa Naik invaded Garsopa, put the traitor to death, took possession of the country, destroyed the city and palace, and carried off the queen as his prisoner. When Della Valle visited the spot, the city was covered with jungle; trees were growing above the ruins of the houses; and four cottages of peasants were all that remained of a populous city.

After leaving Garsopa, Della Valle and his party began to climb the Ghát. The mountain was not so

Story of Garsopa
and the Queen of
Pepper.

Journey over
the Gháts.

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high as the Apennines, but the ascent was easier, the woods were more beautiful and dense, and the water was quite as clear.

Muhammadan
commandant.

On the top of the Ghát there was a fortress, together with a native village and a temple of Hanuman, the monkey god who helped Ráma in his wars against Rávana. In the evening the captain of the fortress sent a present of sugar-canes and other refreshments to the Portuguese ambassador. He was a Muhammadan from the Dekhan. He had formerly been in the service of the Sultan of Bījápur, but had been taken prisoner by Venk-tapa Naik, and entered the service of his Hindu conqueror. He had now been twenty-five years in the service of the Hindu Raja without changing his religion.

Temple of Hanu-
man, the
monkey god :
division of
offerings.

Della Valle was very much interested in the temple of Hanuman. He saw the statue of the monkey god set up in the temple, with lights burning before it. A silver hand had been hung up on the wall by some devout person, probably as a votive offering for the cure of some disease of the hand. Many people came to offer fruit and other edibles to the idol. One of the priests presented the offerings, murmuring his orisons. Half of the offerings was reserved for the servants of the temple, and the other half was returned to the worshipper. If it was but a cocoa-nut, the priest split it in two before the idol, and then gave back one-half to the man who offered it. The worshipper took his half of the cocoa-nut with great reverence, and would afterwards eat it as sacred food that had been tasted by the idol.

Pilgrimage of
Hanuman to
the coast of
Coromandel.

At night there was barbarous music at the gate of the temple. Della Valle was told that Hanuman was about to go on pilgrimage to a place of devotion near

the Portuguese city of St. Thomé on the coast of Coromandel.²² The idol was to be carried in a palanquin, accompanied by a great crowd of men and women, with music and songs, much in the same manner that the bodies or images of the saints were carried in procession or pilgrimage to Loretto or Rome in the Holy Year.

Amongst others who assisted at the service of the idol was a woman who was held to be a saint. It was said that she took no food, not even rice, and that the idol delighted to sleep with her. The people often asked her about future events, and when she had consulted the idol, she gave them their answer.

Hindu female
saint.

The sights on the top of the Ghât were many and various. The captain of the fortress paid a visit to the Portuguese ambassador. He was accompanied by a number of soldiers with various kinds of weapons. Most of them had pikes, lances like half-pikes, and swords. Two of the soldiers had swords and bucklers, and appeared in front of the captain, dancing and skirmishing after their manner, as if they fought together.

Visit of the
Muhammâdan
commandant

In the afternoon, whilst standing in the porch of the temple, Della Valle saw four little boys learning arithmetic by writing out their lessons with their fingers on a sanded pavement. The first boy sung his lesson, such as two and two make four; and the other boys sung and wrote after him in like manner. When the pavement was full of figures, it was wiped clean and strewn with fresh sand.

Hindu boys
learning
arithmetic.

²² The place of pilgrimage was probably Trivalore, three or four miles from Madras; or it may have been Ramisseram, at the extreme south of the Indian peninsula.

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Muhammadian
mosque in
Hindu territory.

At last the Portuguese ambassador and party resumed their journey. About half a league from the fortress Della Valle saw a Muhammadian mosque beside a tank. He was told that the captain of the fortress had been permitted by Venk-tapa Naik to build this mosque; but this was regarded as a great favour, for Hindu Rajas were not accustomed to suffer temples of other religions to be set up within their territories.

Temple of
Varuna.

At another halting-place, Della Valle saw a temple of Varuna.²³ The idol stood at the upper end with candles before him. Della Valle could not see the figure, but was told it was in the shape of a man. There were other idols, some of which were figures of gods, whilst others were only ornaments. There were also some immodest representations of men and women, but these were not gods. Amongst the gods was a Brahma with five heads, and three arms on a side, sitting astride a peacock; a Narain (Vishnu) with four arms on a side; a Ganesha with the head of an elephant; another idol with a man under his feet, upon whose head he trampled; together with others of various sorts.

Ancient diadems,
Egyptian and Roman
Catholic.

Della Valle observed that all these idols had the same covering on the head, with many picks or peaks, all ending in one long peak; a strange and majestic diadem, which was no longer used in India. Della Valle remembered to have seen in Rome some diadems of the same shape upon the heads of some Egyptian statues. They were like the diadems of Catholic saints; or, as some made it, three crowns,

²³ This was a curious relic of Vedic worship. Varuna, or, as Della Valle spells it, "Virena," was the Vedic deity of the sea.

one upon another, like the pontifical crown of the Pope.²⁴ CHAP. IX.

In the evening the priests of the temple of Varuna rung a kind of bell or shell inside the building by striking it with a staff. They then beat two drums very loudly, and sounded two pipes or flutes of metal. The people assembled without, whilst tapers were lighted within. The image of Varuna was then placed in a palanquin under a rich canopy, and a procession was formed. One of the priests marched in front continually sounding a bell. Many others followed with bells, ending with two who carried lighted tapers. Then followed the idol under the canopy, preceded by a priest carrying a vessel of burning perfumes. The procession entered the court without the temple, and so through the gate of the court into the street, still sounding the bells; and so through the city, accompanied by a great train of men and women.

When the procession returned to the temple, a priest from the upper end saluted the idol, and made many circles with a lighted taper in his hand. The same priest then approached the idol, sounding a bell, followed by a boy carrying a basin of prepared sandal-wood. The priest walked three times round the idol, amidst the noise of drums and flutes. He then laid aside the bell, and dipping his finger in the sandal-wood, placed it on the forehead of the idol. He next took the idol out of the palanquin, and placed it on the tribunal at the upper end of the temple. Lastly,

²⁴ This diadem is a singular relic of antiquity. It is to be found in images and carvings all over India and Burma. It is the special head-dress of Buddhas. How it was transferred to the Holy See is a question which opens up new fields of study.

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he distributed amongst the people some slices of cocoanut which had been offered to the idol. The lights were then put out, the music ceased, and the ceremonial was brought to a close.

Ikkeri, the
capital of
Kauara.

The Portuguese ambassador and his party arrived at Ikkeri in due course. The city was seated in a goodly plain. Della Valle says that he and his party passed through three gates with forts and ditches. Consequently the city must have had three enclosures. The two first lines were not walls, but fences of high Indian canes, very thick and closely planted; strong against horse or foot, hard to cut, and not in danger of fire. The third enclosure was a wall, but weak and inconsiderable. Ikkeri was a large city, but the houses were scattered and ill built, especially those outside the third enclosure. Most of the site was laid out in great and long streets, some of them shadowed with high trees growing in lakes of water. There were also fields full of trees, like groves; so that the place seemed to consist of a city, lakes, fields, and woods mingled together, forming a very delightful sight.

Public audience
at the palace of
Venk tapa.

After a day or two's delay, the Portuguese ambassador obtained an audience with Venk-tapa Naik. The party rode to the palace in procession, accompanied with drums and music. The palace stood in a large fortress, environed with a ditch and some badly-built bastions. There were also many streets of houses and shops within the fortress. On reaching the palace, the ambassador and his party found the Raja seated on a raised pavement in a kind of porch at the upper end of a small court. Over his head was a canopy, shaped like a square tent, but made of boards and covered with gilding. The floor was

covered with a piece of tapestry somewhat old. The Raja sat on a little quilt, having two cushions of white silk at his back. Before him lay his sword adorned with silver. On the right hand, and behind the Raja, stood several courtiers, one of whom continually waved a white fan before him, as if to drive away the flies.

Venk-tapa Naik chewed betel-leaves throughout the conference. He asked the ambassador why the Portuguese ships were so late this year, thereby showing his disgust at the delay in the payment for the pepper. The ambassador replied that a Portuguese fleet was coming out to India with a great army; that the kings of Spain and Portugal had formed an alliance with England; that Prince Charles of England was on a visit to the Court of Madrid; that all England had been reduced to the Catholic faith by the public command of the king of Spain, "with other levities," says Della Valle, "which are peculiar to the Portuguese."

Della Valle witnessed many sights at Ikkeri which are peculiarly Hindu. Several companies of young girls danced in circles with painted sticks in their hands about a span long. They were dressed in figured silks from the waist downwards, with linen jackets and scarfs over their shoulders. Their heads were decked with yellow and white flowers, formed into a high and large diadem, with some sticking out like sunbeams, and others twisted together and hanging out in several fashions. As they danced, they struck their sticks together after a musical measure, amidst the sound of drums and other instruments. They sang songs in honour of their

Singing and dancing in honour of Gauri.

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Swinging festival; chariots of the gods; Jangamas.

goddess Gaurí;²⁵ one sang a verse at a time, and the others chanted a chorus.

At another place Della Valle saw a beam set up at a great height within the city. He was told that on certain holidays devout people hung themselves on hooks from this beam, and sang hymns in honour of the gods, whilst brandishing their swords and bucklers.²⁶ He also saw great chariots in which the gods were carried in procession, whilst dancing women played, sang, and danced. Many Indian friars were to be seen in the city of Ikkeri, who were called Jangamas. They were smeared with ashes, and clad in extravagant habits, with hoods or cowls of a reddish brick colour, and bracelets on their arms and legs which jingled as they walked.²⁷

Extraordinary performances of a dancing girl.

One dancing woman showed extraordinary dexterity. She stood on one foot, and then with the other foot she turned a large iron ring swiftly in the air without letting it fall from her toe. At the same time she tossed two balls alternately in the air with one hand without letting one fall.

Succession in the female line.

Another day Della Valle saw the nephew of Venkata Naik passing along the street of Ikkeri. He was the son of the Naik's sister, and the next in succession to the throne. This was in accordance with the custom of Kanara and Malabar. The succession ran in the female line, falling to the son of a sister, and not to the son of a wife, in order to ensure a

²⁵ The goddess Gaurí is obscure; she is generally identified with Dúrgá, the wife of Siva or Mahádeva, and sometimes with Savitrí, the wife of Brahma.

²⁶ This was the well-known Charak Puja, which is so often noticed by missionary writers. It was flourishing at Calcutta within the last twenty years, but was abolished about 1864 by the British Government.

²⁷ Further notices of these Jangamas appear later on in the narrative. They were priests of the Lingayats, or Linga worshippers.

blood lineage.²⁸ The heir-apparent to the Raj of Kanara was riding on horseback attended by a great number of soldiers, horse and foot. He was preceded by a band of barbarous music, whilst elephants walked both before and behind.

One night Della Valle met a woman in the streets of Ikkeri, who had lost her husband, and was bent on burning herself. She rode on horseback with open face, holding a looking-glass in one hand and a lemon in the other. She went along singing and chanting her farewell to the world, with such passionate language as aroused all who heard her. She was followed by many men and women, and some carried an umbrella over her to do her honour. Drums were sounded before her, and she never ceased to accompany the noise with her sad songs. She shed no tears, but her calm and constant countenance evidenced more grief for the death of her husband, and more anxiety to join him in another world, than regret for her departure out of this life. Della Valle was told that she would ride in procession in this manner through the streets for a certain number of days, and then go out of the city and be burned alive with more company and more solemnity.

Procession of a widow preparatory to burning.

Della Valle saw the great temple of Ikkeri, which was dedicated to an idol named Aghoresvara.²⁹ The idol was in the form of a man with one head and

Great temple of Aghoresvara at Ikkeri.

²⁸ The relationship of a sister's son was certain, as there could be no doubt as to the mother; but the son of a wife was uncertain, as there was always doubt as to the father. This law of inheritance arose from the unbounded license of the higher orders of Malabar women, which had hardened into an institution.

²⁹ The ruins of this temple are still to be seen. The god was a form of Isvara or Siva.

CHAP. IX. sixteen arms. Venk-tapa Naik had a particular devotion to this idol.

Grand procession of Brahmans and dancing girls.

One evening tapers were lit in all the temples in Ikkeri; a great noise was made with drums and pipes, whilst priests began to dance before the gates of the temples. Della Valle went off to the great temple of Aghoresvara. The people were called together by the sound of trumpets. The priests formed a procession, carrying two idols in one palanquin, but the figures were so small, and so decked with flowers and ornaments, that Della Valle could not make them out.³⁰ The procession was accompanied by music, torches, lances, streamers, and umbrellas. There was a long train of dancing girls, two by two, decked in gold and jewels. There were other women, marching on either side of the palanquin, carrying little staves with long white horse-tails, with which they fanned away the flies from the idols, in the same way that the Pope was fanned when he went abroad in pontificalibus. Many priests accompanied the idols. In this manner the procession entered the piazza of the temple, and made a large ring or circle. The women then saluted the idols, and began to dance, with much leaping, fencing, and other mad gestures. The procession next moved outside the temple round the outer enclosure, halting at intervals to repeat the salutations and dancing. At last the procession re-entered the temple, and the ceremonies were brought to a close.

Celebration of the new moon.

The next night was the new moon. All the temples in Ikkeri were illuminated with candles and torches; so were all the streets, houses, and shops. Every temple had its idol, and in some temples the idol was

³⁰ Doubtless they were Siva or Isvara, and the goddess Párvatí or Dúrgá.

a serpent. The outer porches were illuminated in like manner, and adorned with transparencies of painted horsemen, elephants, people fighting, and other odd figures. A great concourse of men and women went about the city visiting all the temples in Ikkeri. Late at night Venk-tapa came to the temple of Aghoresvara with his two nephews, attended by a large train of soldiers and servants. He was entertained with music and dancing, and other performances or ceremonies which Della Valle could not see. He stayed within the temple about an hour, and then returned to his palace.

Della Valle remarked that the Hindu worship of the gods chiefly consisted in music, songs, and dances, and in serving the idols as though they were living beings. Thus the priests presented the idols with things to eat, washed them, perfumed them, gave them betel leaves, dyed them with sandal, and carried them abroad in processions. The priests seemed to devote but little time either to prayers or study. Della Valle asked an old priest of reputed learning what books he had read. The priest replied that books were only made to enable man to know God, and that when God was known the books were useless.

One day Della Valle saw salutations and dancing performed in honour of an Indian friar, known as a Jangama. Water had been poured on the holy man, and other ceremonies had been performed, like those at the ordination of a Catholic priest or creation of a Doctor. The newly-created Jangama was clad all in white, and carried sitting in a handsome palanquin, with two white umbrellas held over him, and a led horse behind. He was followed by a great crowd of

Della Valle's
remarks on
Hindu worship.

Procession and
dancing at the
ordination of a
Jangama.

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other Jangamas, clad in their ordinary habits.³¹ A large company of soldiers and other people marched in front of the palanquin with drums, fifes, trumpets, timbrels, and bells. Amongst them was a troop of dancing girls adorned with girdles, necklaces, rings upon their legs, and breastplates stuck with jewels, but without any veil or head tire. This procession entered the piazza of the great temple of Aghoresvara, and there halted. The multitude formed a ring, and the women began to dance like the morris-dancers of Italy, only they sang as they danced. One woman danced by herself with extravagant and high jumping, but always looking towards the palanquin. Sometimes she cowered down with her haunches nearly touching the ground; sometimes she leaped up and struck her haunches with her feet backwards. She was continually singing and making gestures with her hands, but after a barbarous fashion. When the dancing was over the palanquin was carried through the streets, halting at intervals for singing and dancing, until it went out of the city to the dwelling-house of the Jangama.

Kissing the feet
of the Jangamas.

Meanwhile many persons came with much devotion to kiss the feet of the Jangamas who followed the palanquin. These Indian friars were so numerous, and the ceremony of kissing their feet occupied so much time, that whenever a man came up, the whole procession halted until the kissing was over. Meanwhile the Jangamas assumed airs of strict severity, and were to all appearance as much abstracted from earthly things as Catholic friars whose garments were being kissed by pious devotees.

The dancing girls did not confine their attention to

Dancing girls
visit the Portu-
guese ambassa-
dor.

³¹ Red cowls, bracelets, &c. See *ante*, page 450.

gods and Jangamas. One day twelve or fifteen of these damsels paid a visit to the quarters of the Portuguese ambassador, under the conduct of some of their men. They were all young, and all were courtesans, after the manner of Indian dancing girls. They did nothing during the day but talk amongst themselves, though some of them indulged in a little drinking. At night they began to sing and dance, and snap their wooden staves. One dance represented a battle and motions of slaughter. Towards the conclusion the master of the ball danced in the midst of them with a naked poignard, and represented the action of slaughter with his poignard, just as the girls did with their sticks.³² The end of the entertainment was most ridiculous. When the girls were dismissed, they were not satisfied with the largess of the ambassador, although Della Valle had added a like amount. Accordingly they went away testifying their discontent with cholerick yellings.

The conferences between the Portuguese ambassador and Venk-tapa were brought to a close without any incidents of interest. Venk-tapa Naik remained in possession of the fort and territory of the Raja of Banghel, but allowed a yearly pension of seven thousand pagodas to the conquered Raja, so long as he lived peaceably and attempted no further commotions.

Dismissal of the embassy.

By this time Della Valle had seen enough of Ikkeri, and determined to pay a visit to other Hindu capitals. Suddenly, to his great surprise, his money disappeared from his baggage. He was horror-stricken at

Conviction of Gulal, the converted Mussulman.

³² Della Valle is here describing the same kind of dance as that in which the disguised assassins stabbed the son of Deva Rai, in the reign of Firáz Shah. See *ante*, chap. iii.

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the idea of being left to perish amongst barbarians. Suspicion fell upon Galal, the young Muhammadan servant from Persia, who was supposed by Della Valle to have become a convert to Catholic Christianity. The convert was searched, and a long purse of Spanish reals was found fastened to his waist. He had evidently intended to leave his master to the tender mercies of the heathen, and to squander the stolen money on sinful pleasures in some neighbouring territory. Della Valle discharged the thief, but being afraid lest he should relapse into Islam, he sent the boy to Goa in the charge of trusty persons, together with a letter explaining all that had happened.

End of Galal.

The sequel of the story of Galal is told at a later period. He managed to leave his custodians behind, and to appear alone at Goa, feigning that he had been sent on to take a house, and make other preparations for the coming of his master. He kept back Della Valle's letter, pretending that he had lost it at sea, and was very importunate for money to provide all things necessary. Suspicions, however, were excited, and money was refused; and he then disappeared for ever. It was believed that he had escaped to some Muhammadan country, thrown off his Christianity, and returned to the faith in Islam.

Difficulties of
travellers in
Hindu countries.

Meanwhile Della Valle left Ikkeri and proceeded to the territory of the queen of Olaza, which bordered on Mangalore. He found that travelling in Hindu countries was very difficult on the score of diet. Hindus were extremely fastidious in all such matters; neither fish nor flesh was to be obtained from them; nor would they supply inanimate things, such as rice, butter, or milk, excepting as a great favour. The people lived by cultivating rice, which was done

by overflowing the soil with water; but they complained of the large tribute they were obliged to pay to Venk-tapa, which reduced them to great poverty notwithstanding their hard labour.

Della Valle made his way from Ikkeri to the Portuguese port of Mangalore, which stood between the territories of Olaza and Banghel. This port was situated at the mouth of two rivers; one running from the north through Banghel territory, and the other running from the south through Olaza territory. Both towns were within a mile or two of Mangalore.

Portuguese port
of Mangalore.

Della Valle went to the town of Olaza, but found that the queen was not there; she had gone to a place much farther inland, named Manel. A day or two afterwards he went to Manel in a boat, accompanied by a Christian servant and a Brahman interpreter. He was going to the bazar to procure a lodging in some house, when he saw the queen coming on foot the same way. She was not attended by women, but only by soldiers. Six soldiers walked before her with swords and bucklers, but without any clothing save a cloth round their loins and a kind of scarf over the shoulders. Other soldiers walked behind her in the same fashion, and one of them carried an umbrella of palm leaves to shade her from the sun.

Della Valle's
meeting with the
queen of Olaza.

The queen of Olaza was as black as an Ethiopian. She was corpulent and gross, but not heavy, for she walked nimbly enough. She appeared to be about forty years of age. She wore a plain piece of cotton cloth from her waist downwards; but nothing at all from her waist upwards, except a cloth about her head, which hung down a little upon her breast and shoulders. She walked barefooted, but that was the custom of all Hindu women, high and low, at home

Description of a
Hindu queen.

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and abroad. Most of the men were unshod in like manner; a few of the graver sort wore sandals, but very few wore shoes. The queen was more like a kitchen-maid or washerwoman than a noble princess; but her voice was graceful, and she spoke like a woman of judgment.

Conference
between the
Hindu queen
and the Roman
gentleman.

Della Valle and his party stood on one side to permit the queen to pass. She noticed his Roman habit, and spoke to his Brahman interpreter. She asked Della Valle through the Brahman what countries he had visited, and what had brought him to those woods of hers. Della Valle replied that he only came to see her; that he had lost a beloved wife, and was a Yogi in all his thoughts, caring but little what betided him. At last she told him to go and lodge at some house, and she would speak to him at some more convenient time. She then proceeded to the fields about a mile off to see some trenches that were being dug for conveying water to certain lands.

Story of the
queen of Olaza.

The queen of Olaza had come into possession of her kingdom in a peculiar manner. The succession went as usual to the son of a sister, and not to the son of a wife. But the last Raja of Olaza had died without leaving either son or nephew. Accordingly his wife succeeded him; and when she died, she was succeeded by her sister, the present queen.

Marriage with
the Raja of
Banghel.

After the queen of Olaza came to the throne, she married the Raja of Banghel, the man who was afterwards conquered by Venk-tapa Naik. The queen and the Raja did not live together as man and wife, but met occasionally on the frontier of their respective dominions, and dwelt together for awhile in tents.³³

³³ It has already been pointed out in a former volume that the Malabar

The Raja had other wives, and the queen had other lovers ; but they continued on good terms for years.

At last there was a quarrel, but Della Valle did not know the cause. The queen divorced the Raja, and sent him back all the jewels he had given her as his wife. The Raja was much offended and made war upon her. One day the Raja carried her off prisoner ; but she managed to make her escape, and then declared war against Banghel. The Raja called in the aid of the Portuguese, and the queen called in the aid of Venk-tapa Naik. In the end Venk-tapa Naik annexed the Raj of Banghel, defeated the Portuguese, and compelled the queen of Olaza to cede a considerable territory.

Wars between the queen and the Raja ; interference of the Portuguese and Venk-tapa Naik.

The queen had a son, aged twenty, who would succeed to the kingdom after her death. She was said to have poisoned an elder son, because, when he had grown up, he tried to supplant her in the government of the kingdom.³⁴

Reputed poisoning.

Della Valle paid a visit to the palace in the absence of the queen, and was entertained with a Hindu dinner, at which he astonished the queen's son by eating with a knife, fork, and spoon.³⁵ A conversa-

Della Valle's visit to the palace.

country was the land of Amazons. The legend is told in the Mahā Bhārata precisely as it is told in Herodotus. See "History of India," vol. i., Mahā Bhārata.

³⁴ Della Valle hesitated to believe the story, but such plots and poisonings have always been common to Hindu and Moghul history.

³⁵ The dinner was cooked in Hindu fashion and served up on the floor in large fresh leaves instead of dishes. In those days the Portuguese in India followed the example of natives in eating their food with the right hand. Della Valle had been brought up in the refinements of Italy, and carried a knife, fork, and spoon with him. He railed against the barbarous custom of the Portuguese, declaring that the meanest Turkish soldier always fastened a spoon to the belt of his sword. Accordingly he sat cross-legged on the floor, and managed to eat a dinner in the Italian fashion, much to the wonderment and admiration of the Hindu prince, who had probably never seen a fork before.

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tion ensued between the Hindu prince and the Italian stranger. The prince asked questions about European affairs. Della Valle told him that the greatest sovereign in Europe was my Lord the Pope, to whom all other potentates owed obedience. Next to the Pope came the Emperor of Germany. France was the first nation in Europe. Spain had the largest territory and the most riches. Della Valle added that the king of Spain and Portugal, who was so much esteemed in India, paid tribute to the Pope, and held his kingdoms of his Holiness in homage. Accordingly the Hindu prince had a great conceit of the Pope.

Muhammadan
sovereigns.

The prince of Olaza also talked to Della Valle about the Muhammadan sovereigns in Asia. He especially cried up the Moghul. Della Valle told him that in Europe the Moghul was held to be the richest in treasure, but that otherwise the Turk and the Persian were in higher esteem. The Moghul had more subjects than the two others, but they were not fitted for war, as appeared in a recent war with Persia. The Hindu prince professed to regard Shah Abbas, the sovereign of Persia, as a great soldier and captain; and Della Valle related how for a long time he had been familiar with Shah Abbas, and received from him many favours.

Della Valle re-
fuses to trade in
jewels or horses.

The prince also spoke concerning European commodities, and especially of such as were brought to India. He asked Della Valle if he had any goods to sell or bargain, such as pearls or jewels. Like other Hindu princes, he had been accustomed to deal with the Portuguese, who were all engaged in trade from the very highest downwards. Della Valle stood on his nobility. "In his country," he said, "the nobles had nothing to do with traffic; they

only conversed with arms or books." The prince expressed an anxiety to procure a horse from Italy; and this was not surprising. The native breeds in India were very poor. The only good horses were brought from Arabia or Persia, and every Portuguese, even of the highest rank, was ready to sell such horses to Indian grandees. Della Valle, however, would listen to no proposals that savoured of trade. He would not sell a horse to the prince, but he promised, if possible, to send one as a present after his return to Rome.

The queen of Olaza never sent for Della Valle. She walked every morning to the fields, and returned to the palace at night, and busied herself in giving audiences to her subjects and administering justice. Della Valle once tried to speak to her in the fields, but she told him to go home, and she would send for him in the evening. The night, however, passed away without any message from the queen, and he concluded that she was afraid of being obliged to make him a present. As it was, he returned to Mangalore, and never saw her again.

Whilst at Mangalore, Della Valle paid a visit to a celebrated personage, who was known as the "king of the Yogis." A certain circle of land had been given to the Yogis by a former Raja of Banghel. It comprised a hermitage, a temple, and certain habitations of Yogis, together with lands and villages that yielded a yearly revenue. One Yogi was placed in charge, and was known as the king, and when he died a successor was chosen by election. The Yogis were not bound to obey their king, but only to pay him reverence and honour. They went wherever they listed, and were generally dispersed amongst

Misses the
queen of Olaza.

Visits the
"king of the
Yogis."

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different temples; but at festival times they assembled in considerable numbers near the hermitage and were feasted by their king. The yearly revenue of the territory was about six thousand pagodas, equal to nearly three thousand pounds sterling; and was mostly spent on the maintenance of the king and his servants and labourers, or on the festival entertainments to the Yogis, whilst the remainder was devoted to the service of the temple and idols. Venk-tapa Naik had not as yet exacted any tribute from the king of the Yogis, but it was believed that he would take an early opportunity of doing so.

Description of
the king.

Della Valle found the king of the Yogis employed in business of a mean sort, like a peasant or villager. He was an old man with a long white beard, but strong and lusty. He had a golden bead hanging from each ear about the size of a musket-bullet; and he wore a little red cap on his head like those worn by Italian galley slaves. He seemed a man of judgment, but was without learning. He told Della Valle that formerly he had horses, elephants, palanquins, and a great equipage and power; but that Venk-tapa Naik had taken all away, so that he had but very little left.

Visits the Zamorin of Calicut.

Della Valle next paid a visit to Calicut, the capital of the Zamorin of Malabar. A Portuguese fleet was proceeding to Calicut, and the admiral of the fleet was going as ambassador to bring about a reconciliation between the Zamorin and his hereditary enemy, the Raja of Cochin, who was a firm and ancient ally of Portugal. Della Valle sailed with the fleet, and as usual had his eyes and ears open to all that was going on.

City and bazar.

The coast was infested by Malabar corsairs, who

fled up the creeks and rivers at the approach of the Portuguese. At Calicut Della Valle went ashore with the captain of his ship and some others, and strolled about the town and bazar, whilst the Portuguese ambassador was endeavouring to persuade the Zamorin to make peace with the Cochin Raja. The streets were long and narrow. The houses were mere huts built of mud and palm leaves. The bazar was largely supplied with provisions and other necessities, but with few articles of clothing, as neither men nor women wore anything except a small piece of cotton or silk hanging from their girdles to their knees.

The better sort of people were Hindus, especially those inland, and mostly belonged to the soldier caste, known as Nairs. The sea-coast was inhabited by Malabar Muhammadans, who lived amongst the Hindus and spoke their language, but differed from them in religion. The corsairs who infested the coast were Malabar Muhammadans, and Della Valle saw much of their plunder exposed in the bazar, such as Portuguese swords, arms, books, and clothes, which had been taken from Portuguese ships. No Christian durst buy such articles for fear of being excommunicated by the Catholic clergy.

Population of
Malabar, Hindu
and Muham-
madan.

Meanwhile the Zamorin had been much troubled by the demand of the Portuguese admiral. He was willing to be at peace with Portugal, but he would not come to terms with the Raja of Cochin.³⁶ He heard that strangers from the fleet were wandering about the city, and he sent for them to the

Troubles of the
Zamorin.

³⁶ The quarrel was one about caste. The Raja of Cochin affected to belong to a higher caste than the Zamorin of Calicut, and this was an affront which could not be forgiven.

CHAP. IX. palace in the hope of inducing them to plead his cause.

Della Valle at the Zamorin's palace.

Della Valle and his companions were ushered into a small court where a number of courtiers were in attendance, and told to sit down on a raised pavement. Presently, two girls, about twelve years of age, entered the court. They had no clothes beyond a blue cloth round their loins, but their arms, ears, and necks were covered with ornaments of gold and precious stones. They were the daughters, not of the Zamorin, but of his sister, who was styled the queen. They expressed wonder at the strangers, and especially at their clothing. Shortly afterwards the Zamorin made his appearance, accompanied by more courtiers, all of whom were equally devoid of clothing.³⁷ But, in spite of their nudity, there was much etiquette and ceremony. The Zamorin was a young man of thirty, with a handsome presence and long beard. He was loaded with jewels, but wore nothing but a cloth hanging from his girdle. He carried a staff in his hand, on which he leaned in a standing posture, and received the salutations of the European strangers with smiles and courtesies, whilst his great men stood beside him with joined hands. Round about the court were cloistered galleries filled with women, and amongst them was the queen's sister, abundantly adorned with jewels, but with no more clothing than her daughters.

Fruitless negotiations.

The negotiations had no result, for Della Valle and his comrades knew nothing of the relations between the Zamorin and the Portuguese. Subsequently it

³⁷ Della Valle says that on state occasions the Zamorin wore a white vestment, but never otherwise. None of his Nairs were allowed to wear a vestment at any time.

was known that the Zamorin had rejected the overtures of the Portuguese admiral, and utterly refused to make peace with the Cochin Raja, and the Portuguese fleet returned to Goa with a sense of failure.

Della Valle describes the peculiar customs of Malabar. The Nairs, or soldier caste, formed no marriage ties. Every woman was supported by a set of lovers, and received them in turns. Whenever a Nair visited a woman he left his weapons at the door, which sufficed to keep out all intruders. The children had no regard for their fathers, and all questions of descent were decided by the mother. The sisters of a Raja chose what lovers they pleased, but only from the castes of Nairs and Brahmans. Nairs of Malabar.

When two Rajas were at war, their persons were deemed sacred. No one ever fought a Raja, or even struck a blow at his royal umbrella. To shed the blood of a Raja was regarded as a heinous sin, and would be followed by a terrible revenge, known as an "Amok." If a Zamorin was killed, his subjects ran "Amok" for a whole day. A Cochin Raja belonged to a higher caste, and if he were slain his subjects ran "Amok" for a whole year, or, as some said, for the rest of their lives. Customs of Malabar Rajas.

Della Valle returned to Goa, and thence to Europe *via* Bassorah and Aleppo. In March 1624, before he left Goa, news arrived that the Emperor Jehangir had put to death all the English at his court, and ordered the imprisonment of all who were at Surat. It was said that the English had brought these troubles upon themselves from having seized some of the Moghul's ships at sea, in order to procure redress for certain grievances. The story is not improbable, Moghul outrage on the English.

but can only be cleared up by reference to contemporary English records.

Tavernier,
1641-68.

JOHN BAPTISTA TAVERNIER, the eminent French jewel merchant, travelled several times in India between 1641 and 1668, some twenty or thirty years after the departure of Della Valle. He was emphatically a man of a business turn of mind, and his book of travels was written more for the information and amusement of business men than for the wits and scholars of his time.³⁸

Routes from Persia to India.

Tavernier never went to India round the Cape, although he ultimately went home that way. He was familiar with the sea and land routes from Persia to India. He had sailed from the Persian Gulf to Surat. He had also travelled along the land route from Ispahan to Agra *viâ* Kandahar, Kâbul, Lahore, and Delhi. He seems to have fixed his headquarters alternately at Surat and Agra.

Extensive travels within the limits of India.

The travels of Tavernier within the limits of India were on an extensive scale. He undertook journeys from Surat to Agra by two different routes; the one *viâ* Burhanpur, Indore, and Gwalior, and the other *viâ* Baroda and Ahmadabad. He must have been thoroughly conversant with Afghanistan, the Punjab, and Hindostan; for his course of travel carried him from Ispahan to Agra, and thence to Bengal, through the cities of Allahabad, Benares, Patna, Rajmahal, Dacca, and Hughli. He must have been equally conversant with the Dekhan, for he went from Surat to

³⁸ "The Six Voyages of John Baptista Tavernier through Turkey into Persia and the East Indies." Translated into English by J. Philips. Folio. London. 1673.

Golkonda *vid* Deoghur ;³⁹ from Agra to Golkonda, also *vid* Deoghur ; and from Golkonda eastward to Masulipatam, on the coast of Coromandel. He must also have been tolerably familiar with the Peninsula, for he went from Masulipatam south to the Dutch settlement at Pulicat, the English settlement at Madras, and the Portuguese settlement at St. Thomé. From Madras, he returned northward to Golkonda *vid* Gandikota, which at that time was the strongest fortress in the Lower Carnatic. In a word, Tavernier travelled through Hindustan, the Dekhan, and the Lower Carnatic ; but he knew nothing of the Upper Carnatic in the western half of the Peninsula, and consequently knew nothing of Kanara and Malabar, which were the scene of Della Valle's travels.⁴⁰

The journeys of Tavernier were conducted with that measured leisure which characterised all Indian travelling before the introduction of railways. Indeed, Tavernier says that travelling in India was more commodious than in France or Italy. The traveller did not use horses or asses, but either rode on an ox or was carried in a coach or palanquin. In buying an ox for riding, it was necessary to see that the horns were not more than a foot long ; for if the beast was stung by flies, he would toss back his horns into the stomach of the rider.

The natives of India generally travelled in little coaches drawn by two oxen and carrying two persons. Tavernier, however, states that it was more comfortable for a European traveller to go alone, and take

³⁹ In tracing the routes of Tavernier on the modern maps of India, it may be as well to bear in mind that Golkonda was close to the modern city of Hyderabad, and was often confounded with Hyderabad.

⁴⁰ Tavernier knew something of the city of Cochin, as he describes its capture by the Dutch.

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his cloak-bag with him; whilst there was a place under the coach for holding provisions and a small vessel for wine. Tavernier had a coach built for him after the French fashion: the cost of the turn-out, including the two oxen, amounted to six hundred rupees. Some of these oxen would travel on the trot from twelve to fifteen leagues a day for sixty days together. When the oxen had gone half a day's journey, they were refreshed with two or three balls of wheat kneaded with butter and black sugar, about as big as twopenny loaves. The hire of a coach was about a rupee a day. It took forty days to go from Surat to Agra, and another forty days to go from Surat to Golkonda, and the journey on each occasion cost from forty to forty-five rupees.

Palanquins.

Those travellers who had more money to spend went in a palanquin. This was a little couch, six or seven feet long and three feet broad, with balisters all round it. It was covered with satin or cloth of gold, and carried on a bamboo, whilst a slave walked by the sunny side with an umbrella. A palanquin was mostly carried by six men, three at each end, and they ran along much faster than sedan-bearers in France. The pay of a palanquin-bearer was four rupees a month; but if the journey exceeded sixty days, the pay was five rupees.

Guards of
armed soldiers.

To travel honourably in a coach or palanquin, it was necessary to hire twenty or thirty armed men, some with bows and arrows and others with muskets: they were paid at the same rate as the palanquin-bearers. Sometimes, for more magnificence, a banner was carried; and the English and Dutch merchants always carried a flag for the honour of their respective companies. The soldiers were necessary for defence

as well as show, and they kept sentries at night and relieved each other. They were always anxious to give satisfaction, for in the towns where they were engaged they had a chieftain who was responsible for their fidelity, and every man paid two rupees to his chieftain in return for his good word.

Tavernier makes no complaints of the roads that traversed the Moghul empire in Hindustan. The Moghuls, like the Romans, seem to have paid much attention to the roads, for the sake of maintaining their authority in the more remote provinces and suppressing insurrections or revolts. Farther south the roads were not so good. The highway in the Dekhan, running from Hyderabad to Masulipatam, traversed the territories of the Sultan of Golkonda ; it was impassable for waggons on account of the mountains, lakes, and rivers between Hyderabad and the coast of Coromandel. The road from Hyderabad to Cape Comorin ran through the Hindu kingdoms of the Peninsula, and was so bad that all goods were carried on the backs of oxen. Travellers were unable to drive in coaches along this road, and were consequently carried in palanquins ; but the bearers ran so swiftly that travelling in the Peninsula was more easy and rapid than in any other part of India.⁴¹

Tavernier found the same difficulties as regards provisions as are mentioned by Della Valle. In the greater villages there was generally a Muhammadan in command, and it was possible to buy mutton, fowls, or pigeons. But when the villages were only occupied

⁴¹ The state of things described by Tavernier prevailed down to the first quarter of the present century. Within the memory of Anglo-Indians still living, all travelling in the Peninsula was conducted in palanquins.

CHAP. IX. by Hindu Banians, there was nothing to be had but flour, rice, herbs, and milk meats.

Fortified towns. Sometimes the heat rendered it advisable to travel by night and rest during the day. At such times it was necessary to depart out of all fortified towns before sunset; for the commandant of the place was responsible for all robberies, and shut the gates at nightfall. Tavernier always bought his provisions and went out of the town in good time, and stayed under some tree or in the fresh air until it was cool enough to begin the journey.

Foot-posts. One remarkable institution was that of foot-posts, who carried letters faster than horsemen. At the end of every six miles on a line of route there was a little hut, and men were always there in readiness to run a stage. When a runner reached a hut, he threw the letters on the ground, as it was a bad omen to give them into a messenger's hand. The next appointed runner picked them up and carried them to the next stage; and in this way letters could be sent over the greater part of the Moghul empire. The highways in India were mostly known by the trees on either side. In the absence of trees, a heap of stones was set up at every five hundred paces; and the people of the nearest village were bound to keep the heap whitewashed, so that when the nights were dark and stormy the post-runners might not lose their way.

Land carriage. All goods in India were either carried by oxen or in waggons drawn by oxen. Horses and asses were never used. Sometimes camels were employed, but only to carry the luggage of great personages.

Caravans of oxen.

Sometimes ten or twelve thousand oxen were to be seen, all laden with corn, rice, pulse, or salt, at

such places where either of those commodities were exchanged for others. They carried corn where rice only was grown, rice where corn only was grown, and salt where there was none. Sometimes, especially in narrow places, travellers suffered great inconvenience from these large caravans, by being forced to halt two or three days until the whole had passed by.

The men who drove these oxen were known as Manaris.⁴² They were a race of nomads, who lived by transporting merchandise, carrying their wives and children with them, and dwelling only in tents. Some had a hundred oxen, and others more or less. They were divided into four tribes, each numbering about a hundred thousand souls. The first tribe carried nothing but corn; the second, nothing but rice; the third carried pulse; and the fourth salt. Every caravan had its own chief, who assumed as much state as a Raja, and wore a chain of pearls round his neck. When the caravan that carried the corn happened to meet the caravan that carried the salt, they frequently engaged in bloody frays rather than yield the way. The Emperor Aurangzeb considered that these quarrels were prejudicial to trade, as well as to the transport of provisions. Accordingly, he sent for the chiefs of the caravans of corn and salt, and exhorted them for the common good and their own interest not to quarrel and fight, and gave to each of them a lakh of rupees and a chain of pearls.

The four tribes of Manaris were distinguished from each other by certain marks on their foreheads, which were made by their priests. Those of the first

Manaris : four tribes of oxen-drivers.

Caste marks of the four tribes.

⁴² These hereditary carriers were also known as Brinjarries, and were largely employed by the English during the wars against Tippu Sultan of Mysore.

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tribe had a red mark about the size of a crown stuck with grains of wheat ; those of the second tribe had a yellow mark stuck with rice ; and those of the third tribe had a grey mark stuck with millet. Those of the fourth tribe carried a great lump of salt round their necks in a bag. Sometimes the salt weighed as much as nine or ten pounds, for the heavier it was the more they gloried in carrying it ; and every morning, before they said their prayers, they thumped their stomachs with this bag as a sign of repentance.

Religion of the
Mauris.

All four tribes carried a little silver box, like a relic box, hanging to their necks, in which they enclosed a little sacred writing which the priests gave them. They also tied similar writings to their oxen and other cattle, whom they loved as tenderly as children, especially if they had no children of their own. The women wore only a piece of calico, white or painted, from their waists downward. From their waists upward they cut or tatooed their skin in the form of flowers, and dyed them in several colours with the juice of grapes, so that they actually represented flowers.

Worship of the
serpent.

Every morning, while the men loaded their beasts and the women folded up the tents, the priests set up a certain idol in the form of a serpent in wreaths, upon a perch six or seven feet high. The people then came up in files to worship the serpent, the women going three times round the idol. When the ceremony was over, the priests took charge of the idol, and loaded it upon an ox especially appointed for the purpose.

Caravans of
waggons.

The caravan of waggons comprised from one to two hundred of these vehicles. Each waggon was drawn by ten or twelve oxen, and attended by four

soldiers, who were hired by the person to whom the merchandise belonged. Two soldiers marched on either side of the waggon, holding on by two ropes thrown across the waggon, so as to keep it from overturning in rough places.

The remaining information which Tavernier supplies respecting India is of a poor character. He had no education or refinement, and his observation and judgment were chiefly confined to matters of money or trade. He saw more of India than perhaps any other traveller in the seventeenth century, but he has little to say that is worth remembering. He furnishes many details respecting native manufactures at different localities, but in the present day they are obsolete and devoid of interest. His anecdotes are childish and tedious, or else offensive or revolting. He tells many stories of widows who had burnt themselves alive with their deceased husbands; of Hindu mendicants and Muhammadan fakirs; of elephants, monkeys, peacocks, tigers, and serpents. He is often minute in his descriptions of pagodas, tanks, and tombs. But he is dull and egotistical, without the common sense of Terry or the cultivated curiosity of Della Valle.

Poverty of Tavernier's details.

M. DE THEVENOT was a traveller of a far higher stamp. He was a French gentleman of family, who had finished his education at the University of Paris. He landed at Surat in January 1666, being in the thirty-fourth year of his age. He only remained a year in India, but throughout his narrative he shows himself to have been a thoughtful and observant looker-on.⁴³

⁴³ "The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot." Translated into English by A. Lovell. Folio. London. 1687.

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Custom-house at
Surat.

Thevenot has left a graphic picture of the custom-house at Surat, and the zeal of Moghul officials. Passengers were landed in custom-house boats, and conducted through a lane of custom-house officials, armed with bamboos, into a spacious hall where they were rigidly searched from top to toe. Thevenot's money was taken from him, counted, and then returned to him, minus a duty of two and a half per cent. His luggage was rigidly searched in like manner, but no merchandise could be found. Otherwise, as a Christian, he would have had to pay a duty of four per cent. on the value; whilst Hindu merchants, being idolaters, paid a duty of five per cent.

Journey to
Guzerat: re-
ported cannibals.

Some days afterwards, Thevenot engaged a coach and oxen, and left Surat on a trip northwards into Guzerat. Part of the country between Baroche and Ahmadabad was a nest of robbers. At one town the people were said to have been cannibals; and he was assured that not many years before man's flesh had been sold in the markets. This was probably the part of Guzerat where Jehangir carried out the wholesale executions which he describes in his memoirs.⁴⁴

Wandering
Kories.

During this journey Thevenot met a great number of Kories.⁴⁵ They belonged to a caste or tribe who had no fixed habitations, but wandered from village to village, carrying all their goods and chattels with them. Their chief business was to pick cotton and clean it, and when they had finished their work in

⁴⁴ See *ante*, page 235.

⁴⁵ The Kories or Coolies are also noted thieves. The Portuguese applied the name to the lowest class of labourers, who to this day are known as Coolies.

one village they went on to another, and so passed away their lives. CHAP. IX.

At Ahmadabad Thevenot saw a Hindu pagoda which Aurangzeb had converted into a mosque. Hindu pagoda turned into a mosque. The ceremony of transformation was performed by killing a cow within the precincts of the pagoda, a pollution which prevented any Hindu from worshipping there for the future. All round the temple was a cloister with lovely cells, beautified with figures of marble in relief, sitting crossed-legged after the Oriental fashion. Thevenot described them as naked women, but most probably they were Jain saints. Aurangzeb caused all the noses to be broken off, as images were prohibited by the Koran. Thevenot also saw the hospitals for birds and animals described by Della Valle.

Thevenot returned to Surat *viâ* Cambay. He might have gone from Cambay to Surat by sea, but all small vessels were liable to be captured by the Malabar pirates. Accordingly he proceeded by land, but that way was infested by robbers known as Gratiates. ^{Gratiates or Grassias.} ⁴⁶

Thevenot's friends advised him to hire a Charun man and woman to accompany him along the road until he was out of danger. These Charuns were a caste of bards, who were much respected by the Rajpûts. Whoever caused the death of a Charun was turned out of his caste, and treated as infamous and degraded beyond redemption. A Charun man and woman, when engaged to attend a traveller, protected him by threatening to kill themselves if any harm befell him. Charuns: their sacred character.

⁴⁶ These freebooters are still known by the name of Grassias, but have been compelled, under British rule, to abandon all disorderly practices and take to peaceful avocations.

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Thevenot dis-
dains to engage
a Charun.

Thevenot believed that Charuns had carried out this threat in former times, but that the practice had fallen into disuse, and that Charuns compounded with the Gratiates by dividing the money they received from the traveller. The Banians still made use of Charuns, and Thevenot might have hired them for two rupees a day, but he could not bring himself to stoop to such a mean protection. Accordingly he told his coachman to drive on, and prepared to run all risks. At one place a Gratiat called on the coachman to stop, and by making an outcry would have induced others to join him, but he was easily satisfied by the payment of some coppers.

Raja of the
Gratiates.

A little way farther a toll of half a rupee was collected from all travellers by the Raja of the Gratiates. In return, the Raja answered for all robberies committed within his territories. Indeed the Raja did his best to prevent all robberies, and he caused all stolen things to be restored, especially goods belonging to merchants. The same Raja levied ten rupees a man on all caravans between Surat and Agra; but in return he gave the merchants a feast, entertained them with dancing girls, and sent a body of horsemen to guard them so long as they remained under his jurisdiction. He was lord of all the villages from Cambay to Baroche, and all his subjects were known as Gratiates.

Administration
of justice.

Thevenot described the administration of justice in Surat, which resembled that in all Muhammadan cities. There was a Mufti or Mullah who superintended all matters that concerned the Muhammadan religion. There was a Kází who was consulted whenever there was any dispute about the law. There was a Wakianavis, who sent reports direct to the

Padishah of all that took place in the city. There was also a Kotwal and Foujdar, whose duties will be described farther on.

There were two Nawabs at Surat who were independent of each other, and responsible only to the Padishah. One Nawab commanded the fortress and the other the town; and neither encroached on the rights or duties of the other.

Two Nawabs
of Surat.

The Nawab of the town was the judge in all civil matters, and generally rendered speedy justice. If a man sued another for a debt, he had either to show an obligation, to produce two witnesses, or to take an oath. If he was a Christian he swore on the Gospels; if he were a Muhammadan he swore on the Koran; and if he were a Hindu he swore on the cow. A Hindu oath consisted in laying the hand upon a cow, and expressing a desire to eat its flesh if what he said was not true. Most Hindus, however, preferred to lose their cause rather than swear, because swearing was always regarded by them as an infamous action.

Civil justice administered by
the Nawab of
the town :

The Nawab never interfered in criminal affairs; they were all left to the Kotwal. [This officer discharged the functions of magistrate, judge, head of the police, and superintendent of the prison; and was held generally responsible for the peace and order of the city.] He ordered criminals to be whipped or cudgelled in his presence, either in his own house or at the place where the crime had been committed. He went abroad on horseback, attended by several officers on foot, some carrying batons and great whips, others carrying lances, swords, targets, and iron maces, but every man having a dagger at his side.

Criminal justice
by the Kotwal.

Neither the Nawab nor the Kotwal could put any

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Capital sentences
reserved by
Aurangzeb.

man to death.⁴⁷ Aurangzeb reserved that power to himself. Therefore, whenever any man deserved death, a courier was dispatched to know the pleasure of the Padishah, and the imperial orders were put in execution immediately after the return of the courier.

Protection of
the city.

The Kotwal paraded the streets during the night to prevent disorders, and he set guards at different places. If any man was found abroad in the streets, he was committed to prison, and rarely released without being whipped or bastinadoed. This round of duty was performed three times every night, namely, at nine o'clock in the evening, at twelve o'clock at night, and at three o'clock in the morning.

Kotwal held
responsible for
all robberies.

The Kotwal was answerable for all thefts committed in the town. Whenever a robbery was discovered, the Kotwal apprehended all the people of the house, young and old, and subjected them in turns to a severe beating. If at the end of five or six days no one confessed, they were all set at liberty.

The Foujdar of
the district.

There was also a provost at Surat, who was called the Foujdar. His duty was to secure the country round about, and he was answerable for all robberies committed within a certain area outside the city.

Plunder of Surat
by Sivaji in 1684.

Two years before Thevenot's visit to Surat the place had been plundered by Sivaji, and the memory of that four days' sack and burning was still fresh in the minds of the inhabitants. It was wonderful that such a populous city should have patiently suffered itself to be looted by a handful of men; but the Hindus were mostly cowards, and no sooner did Sivaji appear than they all fled, some to Baroche,

⁴⁷ Criminal justice had been much more lax in the reign of Shah Jehan. See Mandelsto's story of the execution of dancing girls by the governor of Ahmabad, *ante*, chap. vi.

and others to the fortress. The Christians from Europe managed to protect themselves against the Mahrattas, but this was because they had planted cannon round their factories, whereas Sivaji and his Mahrattas had no artillery to bring against them.

Thevenot also mentions Sivaji's visit to Delhi, and subsequent escape from the designs of Aurangzeb, which happened in 1666, the very year that Thevenot was travelling in India. He explains that Aurangzeb shrank from putting Sivaji to death because he feared an insurrection of the Rajas, who had become sureties for the performance of Aurangzeb's promises.

Sivaji's visit to Delhi, 1666.

Thevenot travelled along the once famous highway between Agra and Delhi, which was planted with trees, and extended beyond Delhi to Lahore. But he describes the road as being only tolerable, and as infested by tigers, panthers, and lions; also by certain skilful robbers, who were afterwards known as Thugs. These miscreants were the most cunning in all the world. They threw a noose with certain aim round a man's neck, and then strangled him in a trice. Sometimes they sent a handsome woman on the road, who appeared with dishevelled hair, weeping and complaining of some misfortune. A traveller was easily decoyed into a conversation with this dangerous lady, who either threw the noose and strangled him with her own hands, or else stunned him until the robbers came up and finished the business.

Wild beasts and Thugs.

Thevenot furnishes some curious details respecting the Nairs of Malabar. The Nairs, he said, had a great conceit of their nobility, because they fancied themselves to be descended from the Sun. They gave place to none except the Portuguese, and that pre-

Malabar country: the Nair aristocracy.

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cedence cost blood. The Portuguese Viceroy at Goa agreed with the Raja of Cochin that the question should be settled by a duel between a Portuguese man and a Nair. The Nair was overcome, and from that time the Nairs gave precedence to the Portuguese.

Aversion of the
Nairs to Poleas.

The Nairs had a strong aversion to a low-caste people known as Poleas. If a Nair felt the breath of a Polea, he fancied himself polluted, and was obliged to kill the man, and make certain ablutions in public with great ceremony. If he spared the Polea, and the matter reached the ears of the Raja, the Nair would be either put to death or sold for a slave.

Degradation of
Poleas.

The Poleas in the fields were obliged to cry out "Po! Po!" incessantly, in order to give notice to any Nairs who might chance to be in the neighbourhood. If a Nair responded, the Poleas retired to a distance. No Polea was allowed to enter a town. If a Polea wanted anything he cried for it with a loud voice outside the town, and left the money at a certain place appointed for the traffic. Some merchant then brought the commodity that was called for, and took away the price of it.

Fryer, 1673-81.

DR. JOHN FRYER, M.D., of the University of Cambridge, arrived in India in 1673, about six or seven years after the departure of Thevenot. He was a surgeon to the East India Company during the war between the English and Dutch; and he sailed to Madras with a fleet of ten ships which had been armed for the conveyance of treasure during the war.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ "A New Account of East India and Persia," by John Fryer, M.D., Cantab. Folio. Lond. 1697.

In June 1673, after a voyage of six months from Gravesend, the fleet rounded the island of Ceylon, and sailed up the coast of Coromandel. Those on board saw the Dutch colours flying from their fortress at Sadras, about thirty miles to the south of Madras. As they approached Madras they found that a large Dutch squadron was cruising about. Accordingly, they made no attempt to land the treasure, but carried it on northward to the port of Masulipatam, where the English had established a factory.

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Voyage to
Madras and
Masulipatam.

In the seventeenth century the arrival of an English fleet at an English factory in India was a grand time for rejoicing. Those on board fired salutes, whilst the sailors blew their trumpets. Those in the English factory displayed their flag, but they dared not return the salutes, for all the cannon they had were kept carefully concealed from the Muhammadan authorities. The town of Masulipatam belonged to the Sultan of Golkonda, and the Sultan had issued stringent orders that none of the European factories should import cannon or make war on each other within his dominions.

English factory
at Masulipatam.

Next morning the treasure brought by the English fleet was safely landed at Masulipatam. The native boatmen who carried it away were strange objects in the eyes of Fryer. They were of a sunburnt black. Their hair was long and black, but was all shaven off excepting one lock which was kept twisted to enable their prophet, Perimal, to haul them into heaven. They wore nothing but a clout of calico girt about the middle with a sash; but they all had golden rings in their ears.

Native boatmen.

Other natives soon appeared on board in a more stylish garb. These were men of business of a superior

English-speak-
ing natives.

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rank to the boatmen. They wore a head-dress of calico coiled turban fashion, and light vests and long loose trousers, with a sash about the waist. They offered their services for a small wage, to wait on any of the passengers on board, or to execute their affairs. They all spoke English, and told all the news; but in order to understand what was going on it will be necessary to explain the general state of affairs on the coast of Coromandel.

Hindu kingdoms south of the Kistna; conquests of the Sultan of Golkonda.

The port of Masulipatam, immediately to the northward of the Kistna river, had belonged to the Sultans of Golkonda for nearly two centuries. But the region to the southward of the river was in the hands of Hindu Rajas, and the Sultans had only recently extended their conquests in that direction. The reigning Sultan attacked the English settlement at Madras, but was baffled by the cannon of Fort St. George. He, however, captured the Portuguese settlement at St. Thomé, and carried away all the cannon, whilst the Portuguese took refuge in Fort St. George.

French capture St. Thomé.

At this crisis a French fleet appeared off the coast of Coromandel, captured St. Thomé from the Sultan of Golkonda, and held it for two or three years. The consequence was that there was war between the French and the Sultan, and the Dutch fleet was preparing to help the Sultan against the French at St. Thomé.

French make war on the Sultan.

The news that Dr. Fryer heard from the English-speaking natives at Masulipatam was that the French had captured four Muhammadan ships in the roads, and burnt four others; and that the French had also compelled some Dutch factories on the Coromandel coast to supply them with provisions and other necessaries.

Dr. Fryer went on shore in a country boat, carrying a single sail, and resembling a large barge. He was paddled over the bar without much trouble, but he says that the noise of the waves was as deafening as the cataracts of the Nile.

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Landing at
Masulipatam.

Within the bar was still water. Dr. Fryer saw a rude fortress of mud belonging to the Sultan, which was mounted with ten great guns; and several Muhammadan junks were riding at anchor under the protection of the guns. About a bowshot off was the town of Masulipatam. It was environed with a mud wall, entrenched with a stinking morass, and partly moated by the sea. There were two bank-tolls, or custom-house quays; but they were mean in appearance and poorly guarded.⁴⁹

Fortress and
town.

The streets of Masulipatam were broad and the buildings lofty. The better sort of houses were made of wood and plaster. They had balconies roofed with tiles, and looking on to the streets through folded wooden windows latticed with rattans. Below was a stately gateway leading into a square court, with a tank in the centre and terrace-walks on either side. The poorer houses were like thatched beehives walled round with mud. The public buildings consisted of mosques, a custom-house, and a mean court of justice. The places of resort were three bazars, which were crowded with people and commodities.

Streets, houses,
public buildings,
and bazars.

The inhabitants of Masulipatam consisted of Muhammadans and Hindus. There were some Armenians, who carried on a correspondence with the interior. There were also Portuguese, Dutch, English, and a few Frenchmen.

Inhabitants.

⁴⁹ The bank-tolls were the places where duties or tolls were levied on all goods exported or imported by sea.

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Muhammadan
ascendancy
established over
the Hindus
during caste
quarrels.

The Muhammadans had established their authority over the Hindus in a remarkable manner. There had been a quarrel amongst the castes. The artificers, including goldsmiths and carpenters, had been insolent to the higher castes and tyrannical towards their inferiors. The higher castes conspired with the husbandmen and labourers to degrade the artificers, and they prevailed on the Muhammadans to help them. Accordingly the artificers were reduced to the lowest grade of society, known as Halal-chors, or unclean eaters. Henceforth the artificers were not allowed to ride in palanquins at marriages and festivals, but only on horseback.⁵⁰ The Muhammadans thus took the power into their own hands, and the Hindus never attempted to recover their former liberties.

Reigning Sultan
of Golkonda.

The Sultan of Golkonda was a Muhammadan, who had been raised from poverty to the throne through the influence of the chief eunuch. He resided at the city of Golkonda, fifteen days' journey to the westward. Under him the chief eunuch ordered the whole realm. He amassed great treasures, exacting every man's estate when he pleased, mulcting the wealthier classes at his own will, and squeezing the common people to penury. At the death of a grandee he had the reversion of his estate. He also derived a large revenue from the diamond mines of Golkonda.⁵¹

⁵⁰ This curious tradition is authentic and historical. Traces of the struggle between the right and left hands amongst the lower castes are still prevalent in Southern India. The story of the marriage between the son of a goldsmith and the daughter of a Brahman in Appendix II. is an expression of the traditional hatred against artisans.

⁵¹ The ascendancy of eunuchs at the court of Golkonda is a significant fact. The Sultans of both Golkonda and Bijápur found themselves threatened and

The expenses of the Sultan were inconsiderable. His military forces were maintained by his own subjects in their respective provinces; they formed a standing army, numbering a hundred thousand horse and foot when all were brought together. The Sultan had also two hundred elephants in continual readiness, which were maintained by the farmers of his revenues. His resources were squandered on his pleasures, to which he was entirely abandoned.

The Muhammadans at Masulipatam kept a strict hand over the Hindus, intrusting them with no place of concern, and using them only as mechanics and serving-men.

The Persians had planted themselves in Masulipatam, and got on partly by trade and partly by arms. Many had grown to be rich, but all were liable to be despoiled of their wealth. They lived in much splendour, especially priding themselves upon having a numerous retinue and handsome followers. The merchant servants of the East India Company were not behind in similar displays. The president of the factory at Masulipatam was always attended with music, banners, and umbrellas, as well as by a train of two hundred soldiers and spearmen.

The people of Masulipatam celebrated their festivals, and especially their weddings, with much show and splendour. Marriages were commonly performed at night, with the noise of drums, trumpets, and fifes. The poorest Hindu, excepting those of the proscribed caste, had a week's jollity at his marriage; going

thwarted by the growing power of the landed nobility. At Golkonda a favourite eunuch was raised to power as a check upon the Muhammadan nobles. In Bijápur a favourite Abyssinian was raised to power for the same purpose. Eunuchs and Abyssinians have often played important parts in Oriental history.

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about in a palanquin, attended by guards carrying swords, targets, and javelins, whilst others bore ensigns denoting the honour of their caste. But if any artificer or low-caste man attempted the like, he was dragged back to his quarters by the hair of his head.⁵²

Muhammadian
life: seclusion
of the women.

The Muhammadans were very grave and haughty. They took delight and pride in smoking their hookahs whilst sitting cross-legged in a great chair at their doors. They cloistered up their women from the eyes of all men. Sometimes a woman went abroad in a close palanquin, but it was death to any man to attempt to unveil her. Marriages were contrived by the parents whilst the children were young. At seven years of age the son was separated from his mother and the brother from the sister.

Hindu life: freedom of the women.

The Hindus at Masulipatam had no such strictness. The women went abroad in the open air, adorned with chains and earrings, jewels in their noses, and golden rings on their toes. Their hair was long and tied up behind with a kind of coronet at the top formed of gold and jewels.

Hindu arithmetic: local art of painting calicoes.

The Hindus were clever arithmeticians. They dealt with the nicest fractions without a pen; they were much given to traffic, and were intelligent, if not fraudulent, in all trading transactions. They stained calicoes at Masulipatam in a way far superior to what was to be seen anywhere else. Little children, as well as older persons, stretched the calicoes upon the ground, and then painted them with a dexterity and exactness peculiar to themselves. It was this

⁵² These kind of quarrels were frequent in Madras in former times, and sometimes led to bloodshed. The French settlement at Pondicherry was in like manner often the scene of similar riots.

skill in staining or dyeing cottons that made the port of Masulipatam so much frequented. CHAP. IX.

The natives, however, were very timorous. A short time before Fryer's arrival at the port, an Englishman excited the fury of the mob in some affair about a woman. The offender fled to the English factory, but a De-roy was set upon the factory in the name of the Sultan. Under this instrument all communication was closed; no wood, water, or provisions could be carried into the factory.⁵³ At last the offender was induced to leave the factory, and was then torn to pieces by the mob before the factory gates. At this sight twenty-four Englishmen drew out some field-pieces, scoured the streets, and held the two bank-tolls for a whole day and night against the population of Masulipatam, numbering two hundred thousand souls. The De-roy was at last taken off, but the natives remained in such a panic of fear, that on the arrival of the English fleet they would have abandoned the place and fled into the jungle, had they not been reassured by the English in the factory.

Timidity of the people : alarm at the English.

In all capital cases at Masulipatam the criminal was put to death immediately after conviction, either by being dismembered or impaled. In cases of murder, the nearest kinsman of the murdered person was required to prosecute the murderer and execute him. He began to hack away at the murderer, and then the rabble rushed in and finished him. The grandees were put to death by poust.⁵⁴ Law disputes

Public executions.

⁵³ The usage of placing a De-roy on a European factory or settlement was often practised under Muhammadan rule. Many instances of this way of reducing a fort or factory to submission are to be found in the old records at Madras.

⁵⁴ This poison has already been described. See *ante*, page 313, *note*.

CHAP. IX. were soon ended; for the Nawab heard cases every morning, and delivered judgments at once with the aid of the Kází.

Religious toleration under the Sultans of Golkonda.

Religions of every kind were tolerated at Masulipatam. There were Persians of the Shíah sect, who declared that Ali, and no one but Ali, was the rightful successor of Muhammad. There were Turks of the Sunní sect, who venerated all the four Khalífs. There were Hindu idolaters worshipping many household deities, but acknowledging only one true God, and adoring the others as his deified attributes. Every day after devotion the Hindus fixed a painted symbol on their foreheads. They refused to eat with any one who did not belong to their caste. They lived on roots, herbs, rice, and fruits of every kind; but they would not eat anything that had life, or anything, such as eggs, that would produce life. They would, however, drink milk, and also a preparation of boiled butter which they called ghee.

Voyage to Madras.

Dr. Fryer stayed with the fleet a whole month at Masulipatam. At last a foot-post brought the welcome news from Madras that the Dutch fleet had been repulsed by the French, and had sailed away to Ceylon. The treasure brought from England was then re-shipped on board the English ships and carried away to Fort St. George.

Ancient fishing village.

The foundation of Madras must always be regarded as an epoch in Indian history. It was the first territorial possession of the English in India. The site was a long sandy beach about four or five miles to the northward of the old Portuguese town of St. Thomé. It was about six miles in length along the shore, and in breadth was about one mile inland. There were villages and towns in the neighbourhood, but on this

particular sandy site there were no inhabitants whatever, except some native fishermen, who had lived in a little settlement of their own from the remotest antiquity. The fishermen were a very primitive people. They lived under a hereditary headman, and were governed by hereditary laws of the simplest type. If a fisherman got drunk he paid a fine of two fishes to the headman; and if he committed other breaches of the moral law, he was punished in like manner. The fishermen were converted to Christianity by the Portuguese Catholics of St. Thomé; but to all appearances they are pursuing down to the present day the same simple and innocent lives as they did in the days of Ráma.

In 1639 the English built a fortified factory hard by this fishing village; it was known as Fort St. George. The main business of the factory was to provide stained calicoes, like those at Masulipatam, and ship them to the Eastern Archipelago in exchange for nutmegs and other spices, which in due course were shipped to England. The English lived within the walls of Fort St. George, which was consequently known as White-town. Meanwhile, a straggling native village, peopled by weavers, stainers, and petty dealers, grew up to the northward of the fort under the distinctive name of Black-town.

Fort St. George :
White-town and
Black-town.

The site of Madras and Fort St. George had been purchased from a Hindu Naik, who claimed to be a representative of the old Rajas of Vijayanagar. But the Hindu Naiks on the coast of Coromandel were powerless to resist the advancing tide of Muhammadans from Golkonda. Many were swept into oblivion. The English made their peace with the Sultan of Golkonda by agreeing to pay him a yearly

Rent and revenue
of Madras.

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rental of twelve hundred pagodas, or about five or six hundred pounds in English money. This amount was covered several times over by the levy of customs on every commodity which was brought into Black-town or White-town. Indeed, the yearly revenue of Madras, from customs, ground-rents, monopoly farms, and other sources, amounted to about thirty thousand pagodas, or from twelve to fifteen thousand pounds sterling.

Vicissitudes at
Madras.

The trade of Madras had been prosperous. The civil war between Charles the First and his Parliament had lessened it for a while, but it improved after the restoration of Charles the Second.⁵⁵ But in 1673, when Dr. Fryer visited the place, it was in a most unpleasant predicament. The Portuguese town of St. Thomé had undergone strange vicissitudes. Some ten years previously the Sultan of Golkonda had captured the place, and carried off all the Portuguese guns. The Sultan offered to restore St. Thomé, but the Portuguese refused to accept it unless they got back their guns. A French fleet next appeared off the coast, and sent to St. Thomé for provisions. The Muhammadan commandant refused to comply with the request. Accordingly the French brought their ships to bear upon the place, and set the Sultan of Golkonda at defiance, and finally took St. Thomé by storm.

Difficulties of Sir
William Lang-
horn, Governor
of Madras.

Sir William Langhorn, the governor of Madras, was in a dilemma. Great Britain was in alliance with France and at war with Holland. The Sultan of Golkonda called on the Dutch and English to help

⁵⁵ The falling-off in the Madras trade was made up during the civil war by increased sales of saltpetre, which was obtained from the neighbourhood of Patna, and brought down the Ganges and Hughli.

him to recover St. Thomé from the French. At the same time the French were requesting supplies of provisions and money from the English governor of Madras by virtue of the English alliance with France. If Sir William Langhorn assisted the Sultan of Golkonda, he violated the treaty with France which had recently been concluded at Dover between Charles the Second and Louis the Fourteenth. If he assisted the French, he violated his engagements with the Sultan of Golkonda. At one time he contemplated leaving Madras altogether, and migrating to some place farther south out of reach of either the Sultan or the French.⁵⁶ It is, however, unnecessary to dwell upon these complications; it will suffice to show what was going on in 1673, when Dr. Fryer arrived at Madras.

Dr. Fryer was paddled over the surf in a Mussula boat. Ordinary boats fastened with nails would have been wrenched to pieces by the violence of the surf; but the planks of the Mussula boat were sewn together by cocoa-nut ropes, which yielded to the force of the waves, but let in considerable quantities of water.

Dr. Fryer lands
in a Mussula
boat.

Dr. Fryer landed in a wet condition, but the beach was scalding hot from the burning sun, and he hastened to the shelter of the Fort. Looked at from the water, Fort St. George was a place of great strength. It was oblong, about four hundred yards in length from north to south, and one hundred yards from east to west. There was a bastion at each corner of the walls mounted with guns, and the banner of St. George waved bravely over the whole. The streets inside were sweet and clean. The houses

Description of
Fort St. George.

⁵⁶ Madras Records.

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were about forty or fifty in number; and every house had an Italian portico, battlements on the roof, and a terrace walk; and there were rows of trees before the doors. There were no public structures within the fortress, except the governor's house in the centre, and a small chapel where the Portuguese celebrated mass.

Extensive
powers of Sir
William Lang-
horn.

Sir William Langhorn was governor of Madras, but in those days Madras was the chief settlement of the English in the Eastern seas, and consequently his jurisdiction extended to Bengal. In mercantile phrase he was Superintendent over all the English factories on the coast of Coromandel and the banks of the Hughli and Ganges, as far as Patna.⁵⁷ He had a mint at Madras with privileges of coining. He had appointed English justices at Madras, with power of life and death over the native population, but not over the king's liege people of England. His personal guard consisted of three or four hundred "blacks;" besides a band of fifteen hundred ready to serve when occasion required. He never went abroad without fifes, drums, trumpets, and a flag with two balls on a red field; and at such times he was accompanied by his council and factors on horseback, and their ladies in palanquins.

English and Por-
tuguese popula-
tion of Fort St.
George.

The English population of White-town scarcely numbered three hundred souls. The Portuguese population of White-town numbered three thousand; for they had taken refuge in Fort St. George when driven out of St. Thomé some ten years previously, and were welcomed at the time as adding to the security and prosperity of the settlement.

⁵⁷ The English had no settlement at Calcutta for some years after Dr. Fryer left India.

Black-town was distributed into long streets crossed by others. There were choultries, or places for the administration of justice ; an exchange for merchants and money-changers ; and one pagoda enclosed in a large stone wall, with different chapels for the several castes. One part of the pagoda was closed up with arches and kept continually shut : and here it was said that many natives kept their treasures. Other chambers were open ; they were smaller, with flat roofs, having planks of stone laid across, like the wooden planks laid on rafters in English houses. There were hieroglyphics along the cornices, and indecent images sculptured on the walls. The outsides were wrought round with monstrous effigies, and the gates were the highest part of the buildings.

The native population of Madras was of the same mixed character as at Masulipatam. The Hindus, however, were not under the bondage of the Muhammadans ; they were protected by the English, who commanded the whole country within the reach of their guns. The East India Company had thirty thousand Hindus in their employ at Madras, whilst there were hardly forty Muhammadans in the whole settlement.

Native population ; thirty thousand Hindus to forty Muhammadans.

The country round about Madras was sandy, yet plentiful in provisions. Rice was grown without the town, and was nourished by the letting in of water. The English also had many gardens, where they grew gourds of all sorts for stews and pottage, herbs for salad, flowers, including jessamine, and fruits of many kinds. There were topes of plantains, coconuts, guavas, jack fruit, mangoes, plums, and pomegranates.

Surrounding country.

There were also groves of betel, consisting of green and slender trees about twelve or fourteen feet

Groves of betel.

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high, jointed like canes, with spreading boughs. The betel-tree brought forth clusters of green nuts, like walnuts in green shells; but the fruit was different, being hard when dried, and looking like nutmegs. The natives chewed the betel-nut with a lime made of calcined oyster-shells, called chunam. The nut and chunam were wrapped up in a leaf known as areka. Thus mixed, the betel-nut, chunam, and areka leaf formed the Indian entertainment called pán.⁵⁸

Policy of the
Sultan of Gol-
konda.

Dr. Fryer had his own views respecting the political complications at St. Thomé. He was at first surprised that a potent sovereign, like the Sultan of Golkonda, should permit the forts on his coast, such as Madras, St. Thomé, and some others, to be garrisoned by foreigners. Subsequently he saw that the Sultan of Golkonda, like all native princes in India, was weak at sea. It was, therefore, wise policy on the Sultan's part to commit the strongholds on the coast to the charge of those European settlers whom he called his friends, as thereby the foreigners would defend his dominions from invasion, and also furnish places of retreat in the event of his being defeated by the Moghul.⁵⁹

Hindu worship
at Madras.

Dr. Fryer witnessed the same kind of Hindu ceremonies at Madras as those described by Della Valle;

⁵⁸ Pán and betel are familiar terms to every European in India. Pan is served up at the close of every reception of natives. It is supposed to strengthen the digestion, to stimulate the system like tobacco, and to sweeten the breath; but the red liquor colours the teeth, pervades the saliva, and oozes out between the lips. It is accordingly a most unsightly practice in the eyes of Europeans, and especially destructive to the ideal of Oriental beauty.

⁵⁹ Dr. Fryer was no doubt correct in his conclusions, but it would have been a most unpleasant complication for the English if the Sultans of Golkonda or Bijápur had condescended to take refuge at Madras when pressed at a later period by the armies of Aurangzeb.

but he expressed surprise that a people, so apt as the Hindus were in all that pertained to profit and gain, should never have advanced one step out of the rudiments of the religion and civilisation of the ancient world, but continue to practise the old worship of Parí, Ceres, and Flora.

In October 1673 Dr. Fryer left Madras in the English fleet, and coasted round Cape Comorin and northward along Malabar, towards the new English settlement at Bombay. The harbour at Bombay was a magnificent expanse of water, capable of containing a thousand of the best ships in Europe. As the English fleet sailed towards Bombay Castle, Dr. Fryer saw three Moghul men of war, each of three hundred tons burden, besides many smaller vessels. There were also three English men of war, with pennants at every yard-arm. Bombay harbour.

Bombay, poor as it was when Fryer saw it, was already a very different place from what it had been under the Portuguese. When the English took possession there was a Government House, pleasantly situated in the midst of a garden with terrace walks and bowers, but very poorly fortified. Four brass guns were mounted on the house, and a few small pieces were lodged in convenient towers to keep off the Malabar pirates. But there was no protection for the people. The Malabars often ravaged the coasts, plundered the villages, and carried off the inhabitants into hopeless slavery. Weakness of
Bombay under
the Portuguese.

The English speedily effected an entire change. They loaded the terraces with cannon, and built ramparts over the bowers. When Dr. Fryer landed, ten years after the British occupation, Bombay Castle was mounted with a hundred and twenty pieces of ord- English fortifi-
cations.

CHAP. IX. nance, whilst sixty field-pieces were in readiness. A few months before his arrival the Dutch had attacked Bombay, but were forced to retire to their boats without any booty whatever.

Unhealthiness of
Bombay.

Bombay, however, was so unhealthy that Dr. Fryer describes it as a charnel-house. The site was unwholesome and the air was bad. These evils were aggravated by the intemperance of the English settlers. English wives were sent out, but their children turned out poor and weakly.

Visit to Surat.

From Bombay Dr. Fryer proceeded northwards to Surat. Here he remained several months, and saw much of the ways and condition of the people. Surat had been much changed since Della Valle's visit. The town swarmed with Fakirs, and there were evidences on all sides of the intolerant rule of Aurangzeb, as contrasted with the lax toleration which prevailed in the reign of Jehangir.

Christians in-
sulted by
Muhammadan
beggars.

No Christian could appear in the streets of Surat in good clothes, or mounted on a proper horse, without being assailed by Muhammadan beggars,—bold, lusty, and often drunken. These pious rascals inquired loudly of the Almighty why he suffered them to go on foot in rags and allowed Christian Kafirs to go on horseback in rich attire. Sometimes they would run a “muck;” that is, rush out sword in hand and kill all they met, until they were killed themselves. They were especially ready to commit such violent actions if they had been sanctified by a pilgrimage to Mecca. However, Christians had small ground of complaint, for rich Muhammadans were often persecuted in like manner by these noisy knaves.

Muhammadan
merchants; their
houses and
courtesies.

The Muhammadan merchants at Surat lived in lofty houses, flat at the top, and terraced with plaster.

Glass was dear, and could only be obtained from the Venetians *via* Constantinople. The windows were mostly folding-doors, screened with lattices or isin-glass, or more commonly oyster-shells. The Moghuls wore rich attire, with a poniard at their girdle. They were neat in apparel and grave in carriage. They were courteous to strangers, receiving them at the doorway, and ushering them into a court or choultry, spread with carpets, and open to some tank of purling water. There they took off their shoes, made the usual salam, and took their seats, having long velvet cushions to bolster their back and sides.

The Banians, or Hindu brokers, lived in a different fashion. They affected no stately houses, but dwelt in sheds. Even the richest crowded together, three or four families in a hovel, with goats, cows, and calves, until they were almost poisoned with vermin and nastiness. But they had reason for what they did. Any Banian suspected of being rich was certain to be deprived of his wealth by the Nawab of Surat, unless he had secured the protection of some powerful grandee.

Hindu Banians ;
affected poverty.

The Muhammadan Fakirs were the pest of the country. Aurangzeb, the reigning Moghul, had lived for some years as a Fakir before he came to the throne, and he was said to favour the order. The Fakirs were supposed to be holy men, who were abstracted from the world and resigned to God ; on this pretence they committed various extravagances and performed strange penances. One Fakir vowed that he would hang by his heels until he had collected money enough to build a mosque. Another travelled about the country on an ox, with a horn blowing before him, and a man fanning him with a peacock's

Muhammadan
Fakirs.

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tail. As he went he rattled a great chain fastened to his foot to proclaim his necessities ; and the poorest Hindus gave their alms, otherwise they might be accused before the Kází of having blasphemed Muhammad, from which there was no escape except by paying a large ransom or becoming a Muhammadan.

Vagabond lives
of the Fakírs.

Most of the Fakírs were vagabonds. Some lived in gardens and retired places in the fields, like the seers of old and the children of the prophets. They professed poverty, but took what they pleased wherever they went. During the heat of the day they idled away their time under shady trees ; at night they entered the town in troops, and collected alms more like robbers than beggars. Merchants who had been successful in their ventures would often bestow their bounty on the Fakírs. Sometimes the holy men demanded alms of bazar dealers and shopkeepers, or rushed out in the streets and bawled for a hundred rupees, and refused to be satisfied with less money.

Grandeur of the
Nawab of Surat ;
defied by the
Fakírs.

The Nawab of Surat was a great man. Every morning he went in state to his judgment-seat attended by three hundred footmen carrying firearms, three elephants, forty horses, and four and twenty banners. He was always accompanied by the Kází to assist in law points, and he too had a large train. Moreover, the approach of the Nawab was always heralded with loud trumpets and thundering kettledrums. Yet with all this pomp and authority the Nawab was unable to curb the Fakírs. Sometimes the Fakírs formed themselves into an army, delivered offenders from the hands of justice, and could hardly be restrained from breaking out into open rebellion.

Oppressions of
the Nawab and
his soldiery.

The poorer inhabitants of Surat were entirely at the mercy of the Nawab and his soldiers. Any crafts-

man might be pressed into his service, and compelled either to work without wages or to get off by payment of a fine.

At the time of Fryer's visit the remains of Sivaji's fury were still to be seen at Surat. The inhabitants were in hourly fear of the Mahrattas, and were collecting a hundred thousand rupees with the hope of quieting Sivaji until their walls were finished. They had seven hundred men to guard the walls of the town, besides European gunners at every one of the six gates. There were also thirty-six bastions, each mounted with half-a-dozen guns. The top of every bastion was guarded with spiked timber to annoy any one who attempted to scale it. Every gate was also barbed with iron spikes to break the rushing in of elephants.

General fear of
the Mahrattas.

The Nawab of Surat had a force of fifteen hundred men in pay, armed with matchlocks, swords, and javelins. He also had two hundred horsemen, with quivers full of arrows at the bows of their saddles, lances at their right stirrup, swords of an unwieldy bulk, and bucklers hanging over their shoulders.

Army of the
Nawab of Surat.

The Moghul shipping lay pretty close together in the Surat river. Some of the vessels were more than a thousand tons burden. Altogether there were more than a hundred good ships, besides smaller vessels. All these vessels were built for the Moghuls by English shipwrights, who were driven by poverty to undertake the work. One of them received a just reward. He tried to smuggle some goods through the custom-house, but was detected by the Moghul officers and flogged most unmercifully.

Moghul ship-
ping.

But although the Moghuls procured ships, they dared not venture out to sea without European passes

Timidity of the
Moghuls at sea.

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and pilots.⁶⁰ Some of their ships carried thirty or forty pieces of cannon, but it was more for show than service. Besides merchantmen, there were three or four men of war as big as English third rates. There were also frigates fit to row or sail, made with prows instead of beaks, but they were more useful in creeks and rivers than on the open sea. Aurangzeb had also four great ships in constant pay to carry pilgrims to Mecca passage free.

Moghul Viceroy of Guzerat; troubled by Kolis, Mah-rattas, and Rajpûts.

The port of Surat was included in the province of Guzerat. Muhammad Amín Khan was Viceroy of the province. He was the son of Amír Jumla, who established Aurangzeb on the throne. His metropolis was not at Surat, but at Ahmadabad. He had vast forces, wealth, and territories, but he could not prevent the Kolis from pilfering,⁶¹ nor Sivají from plundering, nor the Rajpût outlaws from harassing the country. He could have beaten them all in a pitched battle, but they thwarted him by surprise and thievery; not a kafilá or convoy was safe without a guard of soldiers. But for these dangers Surat might have been the greatest emporium in the world.

Bigotry of Aurangzeb.

The religious bigotry of Aurangzeb was abundantly manifested at Surat. He interfered in the Muharrám, when the Shíahs mourned over the slaughter of Ali, and his two sons Hasan and Husain. He did not suppress the ceremonial, but he sought to reduce it to a form of pious respect, so that unbelievers should not think that Muhammadans were inclined to hea-

⁶⁰ Dr. Fryer says that the Moghuls found it necessary to carry European passes. Portuguese, Dutch, and English all sold passes, under which the Moghul ships were secured from the attacks of all ships belonging to the respective nations. Unfortunately these passes would not secure the Moghul ships from the attacks of pirates.

⁶¹ The Kolis, or Coolies, have already been described by Thevenot.

then rites. At the same time he strove to bring the Hindus over to the worship of the Koran. He had already begun to raise two severe poll-taxes, compelling the Brahmans to pay a gold rupee a head, and lower castes the same in proportion.⁶² Some Rajas had already begun to revolt, and the Hindus at Surat were beginning to fly to the English town of Bombay, or to one or other of the Portuguese settlements. This timidity of the Hindus was surprising, for they outnumbered the Moghul troops a thousand to one; and had they only united to resist the Moghul authority they might have set Aurangzeb at defiance.

In 1675 Dr. Fryer left Surat for Bombay. Here he paid the visit to Joonere which has been noticed in a previous chapter.⁶³ A few personal details may be added, which throw farther light upon Moghul and Mahratta times.

Return to
Bombay.

The Nawab of the city of Joonere required the services of Dr. Fryer for one of the ladies of his harem. Dr. Fryer journeyed to the fortress, and was received with great state. The Nawab was seated on a kind of throne, bolstered up with embroidered cushions. All his chief officers were standing on his right hand. He was smoking a silver hookah with much pomp and circumstance, whilst his sword and buckler lay before him, and a page carried his bow and arrows. The floor was spread with a soft bed supported by silver pedestals. Dr. Fryer took off his shoes, made his salam, presented his credentials, and was received at the left hand of the Nawab. Dr. Fryer expected to be ushered into the presence of his patient, but he

Dr. Fryer at-
tends the Nawab
of Joonere; the
public audience.

⁶² A gold rupee or mohur was equal to about sixteen rupees. See *ante*, page 374.

⁶³ See *ante*, page 371.

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was told that he must wait for a lucky day. Two singing men then chanted the praises of the Nawab, and the assembly was dismissed by the presentation of pán.

Weak defences
against Sivaji.

Dr. Fryer had a poor opinion of the defences of Joonere. It appeared to him that the Moghuls at Joonere were encamped rather than fortified. If Sivaji advanced against them in any force, they either took to flight or joined the army under the Moghul general, Bahadur Khan, who commanded the Moghul army in that quarter.

Visit to the
Nawab's harem.

At last a fortunate day arrived for seeing the patient. Dr. Fryer was conducted into the women's quarters. He was led through a long dark entry into an open court, where he saw a bed hung round with curtains. He was told to put his hand under the curtains and feel the wrist of his patient. He did as he was told, but found a pulse healthy and regular, and accordingly declared that there was nothing the matter with the patient. It turned out that the attendants had tested his medical skill by placing a healthy female slave in the bed. The matter was explained, and Dr. Fryer was then permitted to feel the pulse of the sick lady. He found her weak and languid, and relieved her by bleeding.

Unexpected
disclosures.

Next day another lady wanted to be bled. Dr. Fryer was again conducted to the open court, but instead of a bed there was a curtain drawn across the whole court, as if to hide a distinguished audience. Presently a female arm was thrust through a hole in the curtain, but the curtain gave way and fell to the ground, and a large bevy of ladies appeared before the eyes of the English doctor. No one ran away, but the ladies veiled their faces with their hands, and

peeped at Dr. Fryer between their fingers. Parings of fruit were lying about, as well as pieces of needle-work, and Dr. Fryer inferred that the ladies had been engaged in ordinary household occupations.

Dr. Fryer soon grew intimate with the Nawab of Joonere, and discussed questions of trade and politics. The Nawab cared nothing for trade ; his only anxiety was that there should be no peace with the Mahrattas, and all the Moghul generals shared this feeling. So long as the war lasted a Moghul army would be maintained in the Dekhan, and every Moghul general would draw pay for troops that only existed on paper, and would receive rich presents from the Sultans of Bījāpur and Golkonda. Peace with Sivaji would put a stop to all these gains, and thus it was that Aurangzeb never came to terms with the Mahrattas.

Subsequently Dr. Fryer left the town of Joonere, and paid a visit to the Nawab of the fortress. This man was a converted Brahman who had been promoted by Aurangzeb, and was notorious for his grasping avarice. Sivaji was anxious to recover the fortress from the Moghuls, because he had been born there, and he offered an enormous bribe to the ex-Brahman to deliver up the place. The terms were accepted, the money was paid, and seven thousand of Sivaji's men marched up the hill to take possession. But Sivaji was deceived ; the ex-Brahman was faithless to his engagement, and the seven thousand Mahrattas were cut off by an ambuscade.

The garrison of the fortress of Joonere was composed indifferently of Hindus as well as Moghuls ; and such was the case with all Indian armies, Mahratta as well as Moghul. The only question was that of salt or pay ; and one and all were expected to be

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true to their salt. Pay might be many months in arrears, and the officers had many pickings before it reached the common soldiers, but loyalty to the salt was the ruling sentiment in Indian armies.

Desolations of
Moghuls and
Mahrattas.

The whole country between Joonere and Bombay was desolate in the extreme. The people were so harassed by Moghuls and Mahrattas that they were afraid to sow their grain, not knowing who would reap the harvest. They were so exposed to attacks from marauding parties that they frequently deserted their houses and fled to caves and jungles. The coolies who carried Dr. Fryer's luggage were much struck with the wretchedness and misery of the inhabitants, and compared it with the happiness which they enjoyed under British rule.

Karwar :
Mahratta
oppression.

Soon after Dr. Fryer's return to Bombay, he made a voyage to Karwar, to the southward of Goa. The country had formerly belonged to the Muhammadan Sultan of Bījāpur, but had been recently conquered by Sivaji. The English had built a fortified factory at Karwar, and kept all parties in awe by reason of their cannon. The cruel exactions of Mahratta rule were patent on all sides. The Brahman officials tortured the revenue farmers, and the farmers tortured the cultivators. But these extortionate practices were universal throughout India. The great fish preyed upon the little ones, until the poorer classes were brought into eternal bondage. Freebooters and outlaws plundered the villagers of all that remained; and there was no protection whatever for the hapless inhabitants of Karwar excepting under cover of the English guns.

Voyage to Goa.

Whilst at Karwar Dr. Fryer made a voyage to Goa. On entering Goa river, there were many stately

churches, and the waters were alive with boat-racing and other pastimes; but the inhabitants gave themselves up to idleness, whilst ships from Europe were rotting from want of cargoes. The city abounded in churches, monasteries, and colleges, but some of the houses were falling into decay. Dr. Fryer paid a visit to the palace of the Viceroy, and saw a long gallery hung round with pictures of all the Viceroys that had been in India. The great man was going with his council to the Church of Misericord, where a pious comedy was to be performed; but neither Fryer nor his companions cared to be present at such tedious representations.

Near the palace stairs, Dr. Fryer saw the sessions-house, the bloody prison of the Inquisition. There was a large engine in the market-place, with a pulley and a top like a gibbet, which unbinged a man's joints with cruel torture. Over against the stairs was an island, where all who were condemned by the Inquisition were brought to be burned, dressed up in horrid shapes like imps and devils. Dr. Fryer saw a number of wretches, branded as wizards, who had been released to work at the powder-mills. They were dressed in yellow garments without sleeves, having a hole for the neck, and a red cross before and behind.

Inquisition,
torture, burning
and branding.

Goa was an Indian Venice. The principal buildings were churches and convents, but the laity had some handsome mansions built of stone. The streets were paved, and were cleaner than the tops of the houses, where all the refuse was deposited. The Portuguese lived with a splendid outside, taking a great pride in the number of their slaves, walking under a street of umbrellas, and always bare-headed, so as to avoid

Goa and the
Portuguese
inhabitants.

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giving offence by not removing their hats. They were very jealous of their honour, and never pardoned an affront. To ogle a lady of quality in a balcony could only be avenged by blood. To pass a Fidalgo without due reverence was punished with a severe beating.

The clergy.

The clergy at Goa affected little outward state. They mostly went about in couples. They saluted a Father by kissing the hem of his garment, and then begged for a benediction.

Kanarese inhabitants.

The mass of the people of Goa were Kanarese, but Portuguese in speech and manner. They paid great obeisance to a white man, always giving the way with a cringe and a civil salute, out of fear of a blow.

Goa ladies, jewels, and dress.

The women of Goa, both white and black, were kept in seclusion, and never went abroad without veils. Within doors the rich ladies of quality were hung with jewels and rosaries of gold and silver. They wore gold ornaments about their arms, necklaces of pearl about their necks, lockets of diamonds in bodkins for their hair, pendants in their ears, a thin half-smock reaching to their waist, a thin petticoat below, very rich slippers, but no stockings.

Manners and occupation.

Some of the Portuguese ladies had fine features and perfect shapes, but had been brought up in such close retirement that they were unfit for conversation, and gave their whole time to devotion and household cares. They sang and played on the lute, and they made confections and pickled mangoes. They dressed meat exquisitely, and made it easy of digestion. They served up soups, pottages, and varieties of stews in little china dishes, and in half-a-dozen different ways. If a stranger dined with the husband, and the wife sat at the table, nothing would please the lady unless the guest tasted of every dish.

The finest manchet in the world was made at Goa ; CHAP. IX.
 so was the finest virgin wax for tapers.⁶⁴ The best Manchet, wax,
arrack, and
punch.
 arrack was also made there, with which the English
 made that enervating liquor "punch," so called from
 the Hindustani word "panch," signifying five ; for
 "punch" consisted of five ingredients, namely, water,
 sugar, limes, arrack, and spices.

The approach of ships to Goa was telegraphed Telegraphs.
 by the outguards in a peculiar fashion. The king's
 ensign was spread, and then as many baskets were
 hoisted on poles as there were ships in the offing.
 This sign was received by the next appointed watch,
 and so passed on successively until it reached the
 city.

Dr. Fryer paid a visit to Old Goa, which was Old Goa.
 about three miles off. It was seated in a bay, and
 was a place of still retirement rather than of noisy
 commerce. The trade had stolen away to New
 Goa. The rich people who remained in the old
 city cared nothing for traffic, whilst the poor were
 content to live by fishing and other trifling pursuits.
 Old Goa abounded with wealthy inhabitants, whose
 rural palaces were immured in groves and gardens,
 refreshed and cooled with tanks and rivulets, and
 always presented a graceful front to the street. It
 was Christmas time, and the streets were adorned
 with triumphal arches and pompous pageants.
 Palanquins passed as frequently as at New Goa.
 The people were quite as polite, and much less
 pestered with drunken comrades, such as soldiers,
 seamen, and Russians.

Sivaji, the Mahratta, had proved very troublesome

⁶⁴ Manchet was a superior kind of white bread made in little rolls.

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Mahratta neighbours.

to Goa. He had conquered Karwar and the low country to the south from the Sultan of Bijápur; and the Portuguese found that the Mahrattas were worse neighbours than the Muhammadans. The Mahrattas cut off the trade in diamonds, timber, and firewood. They straitened the Portuguese for butcher's meat, for the Muhammadans had no scruples on the subject, whilst the Mahrattas would rather kill a man than suffer a beast to be slaughtered. Above all, the neighbourhood of Sivaji's army created frequent alarms at Goa, especially as the recruits from Europe were very few. Indeed, Dr. Fryer foresaw that the Catholic padres would soon have to fight as well as pray, for at Goa there were far more priests than soldiers.⁶⁵

Pilgrimage to Gokurn.

Dr. Fryer returned from Goa to Karwar, and subsequently paid a visit to a celebrated Brahman university at Gokurn, to the southwards. Gokurn was about as far from Karwar as Karwar was from Goa. It was a university of Brahmans, with innumerable pagodas, but all except two were falling in ruins. Every pagoda had a dark cell at the farther end, where an idol was set up with lights continually burning before it. Gokurn was renowned for its sanctity, and the Brahmans there reaped a large harvest at festival times. Every pilgrim was supposed to accumulate so many religious merits from the pilgrimage that idolaters flocked to Gokurn from all parts of India.

Sights at Gokurn: absence of all aunnals.

Dr. Fryer saw naked Yogis, processions of idols with Brahmans and dancing girls, women fanning

⁶⁵ The predictions of Dr. Fryer were subsequently fulfilled. Before the reign of Aurangzeb was brought to a close, battalions of priests were brought into action. See *ante*, chap. vii.

dols, and men running about and cudgelling themselves as if they were possessed by demons. But he could learn nothing of the annals of the pagodas nor of their founders. Nothing was certain except that the destroying hand of time and the invasions of the Muhammadans had worked their ruin. Gokurn was an important university, but it could not boast of a Bodleian or a Vatican. Their libraries were old manuscripts of their own Cabalas, or mysteries, understood only by the Brahmans.

There was no collegiate confinement at Gokurn. The Brahmans lived in pretty neat houses, plastered with cow-dung, where they lived with their wives and families. One Brahman alone led a life of celibacy. He was the head of the tribe, and was attended by many young men covered with ashes, as well as by grave Brahmans. They lived a reserved life, which they spent in prayers and abstinence. They did not count their prayers by beads, like the others, but by cowries and sea-shells.

Dr. Fryer left India in 1676 and went on a voyage to Persia. At this period, Aurangzeb was watching the progress of affairs amongst the Afghans and Usbegs, and maintaining a large army on the confines of Kandahar. Consequently he was unable to give his attention to the affairs of the Dekhan, and was content to leave a flying army of forty thousand horse and a host of foot to overawe the Dekhan and the Peninsula, under the command of Bahadur Khan.

The Muhammadan kingdoms of Bījāpur and Golkonda were distracted by civil dissensions, but were as yet unconquered by the Moghul. Bahadur Khan might easily have deposed the reigning Sultans and annexed their territories to the Moghul empire,

Life of the Brahmans at Gokurn.

India in 1676.

Bījāpur and Golkonda.

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but, like other Moghul generals of the period, he received large bribes from both courts, and amused Aurangzeb by desultory wars both with them and the Mahrattas. So long as a grand army was maintained in the Dekhan, so long the Moghul generals profited by the presents they received from the enemy, and the pay which they drew from the imperial treasury for levies which only existed on paper. But the conquest of Bijápur and Golkonda, and the conclusion of a peace with Sivaji, would have put an immediate stop to their illicit gains.

Sivaji, the Mahratta.

Meanwhile Sivaji had established his Mahratta empire from the neighbourhood of Surat to the country round about Karwar. He made frequent incursions on Bijápur and Golkonda, encouraged their vassals to rebel against their respective Sultans, and tried to play the part of a Hindu champion against the intolerant Aurangzeb, whilst plundering and collecting chout in all directions, from friends as well as from foes. To crown all, whilst the governments of Bijápur and Golkonda were purchasing the forbearance of the Moghul generals, they sent presents in like manner to Sivaji and other Hindu Rajas, to induce them to make aggressions and raids on the territories of the Moghul.

India in 1679-81

Dr. Fryer returned from Persia to India in 1679, and remained there until 1681, when he finally departed for Europe. By this time political affairs had undergone a significant change, which has already been described in dealing with the reign of Aurangzeb. He declared war to the knife against the Hindu religion, broke down temples and idols, led overwhelming armies against Rajpúts and Mahrattas, and finally committed himself to his grand

scheme for the suppression of idolatry throughout India, and establishment of the religion of Muham- CHAP. IX.
 mad from sea to sea.

Dr. Fryer left India at the turning-point of Moghul India, 1680.
 history. After his departure, Aurangzeb conquered Bījāpur and Golkonda, and annexed both kingdoms to the Moghul empire ; but he wasted the remaining portion of his reign in intermittent and useless wars against the Mahrattas.

CAPTAIN ALEXANDER HAMILTON was a shrewd Captain Hamil-
ton, 1688-1723.
 Scotchman, who carried on a free trade in the eastern seas between 1688 and 1723, in spite of the monopoly of the old East India Company. He was prejudiced against the Company's servants at the different English settlements ; but his experiences of Sind and Guzerat, and the stories he tells of Moghuls and Hindus, may be accepted as trustworthy.

Sind, on the lower valley of the river Indus, was Sind : danger-
ous brigands.
 the most westerly province belonging to the Moghul. It was exposed on one side to the rebel subjects of Persia, and on the other side to the rebel subjects of the Moghul. There was a wretched seaport near the coast, consisting of about a hundred huts built of sticks and mud ; but the route northwards to the capital at Tatta was infested by bands of brigands, who concealed themselves in the neighbouring jungles. In 1699 a rich kafila going to Tatta was attacked and plundered by a large force of these scoundrels, and hundreds of merchants and carriers were slaughtered in the fray.

Three months afterwards Captain Hamilton arrived Defeat of the
brigands by
Hamilton and
his sailors.
 at the port with a valuable cargo from the Malabar coast, worth about ten thousand pounds. The Tatta

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merchants were ready enough to buy, if the goods were safe at Tatta; but they would not risk the carriage through that dangerous country. They might have secured a guard of horsemen from the Nawab of Tatta, but the guards were often in league with the robbers, and shared the spoil. Accordingly, Hamilton determined to carry his commodities to Tatta, accompanied by some of his sailors armed with matchlocks; and, to render himself more secure, he joined a large kafilâ going to the same place, escorted by two hundred horsemen. Half-way to Tatta, the scouts brought in the news that the brigands were posted in great force in the neighbouring jungles. Presently a horseman came up brandishing his sword, and threatening to give no quarter unless they all surrendered quietly. The native guard retired to the rear, but one of the sailors shot the horseman dead. Two or three other horsemen appeared, and were shot dead in like manner. By this time the native escort recovered heart, and there was a general charge upon the brigands, in which many were killed, and the remainder fled in all directions.

Triumph at
Tatta: strange
favours granted
by the Nawab.

The news of this victory was soon carried to Tatta; and the citizens came out with presents of fruit and sweetmeats for Hamilton and his English sailors, who were hailed as deliverers. Quarters were provided for the party in a large house having fifteen rooms and good warehouses. The Nawab of Tatta sent sheep, goats, fowls, and pigeons in abundance. He made Hamilton free of the port, permitting him to land what goods he pleased without the payment of duties. Moreover, he promised to imprison any refractory debtors, and even to sell their wives and children, if Hamilton found any difficulty in getting his money.

Eastward of Sind was the province of Guzerat, which appeared to be peopled with robbers and pirates. The Moghuls were powerless to suppress them, for their country was protected by marshes and inlets of the sea. The port of Beyt, in particular, was a nest of pirates. No trading was permitted, and the whole population lived by piracy, and gave an asylum to every robber and outlaw that escaped to their city. They cruised along the Indian Ocean, between the Persian Gulf and Malabar Coast, in small ships mounted with cannon and swarming with fighting men, and attacked every vessel that came in their way. Hamilton had several skirmishes with them, and tells many details of their atrocities. When about to engage in battle they intoxicated themselves with bhang, and let down their long hair as a sign that they neither gave quarter nor accepted it. If a ship surrendered without any fighting the pirates were tolerably civil; but if they encountered any resistance they were cruel and merciless to the last degree. One time they burnt an English ship with all her crew. Another time they beheaded their own admiral for letting a rich prize slip out of his hands.

Guzerat: robbers
and pirates of
Beyt.

Some of the ports of Guzerat carried on trade, but they were obliged to hire bodies of Rajpúts to protect them against banditti. The Rajpúts employed their swords, like Swiss mercenaries, in behalf of those who gave them the best pay. They carried their women and children with them in every expedition; and if they were repulsed, the wives refused to receive their husbands until the latter had regained their lost honour.

Rajpút mer-
cenaries hired
as guards.

Hamilton tells the story of a Yogi who was buried

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Story of a Yogi
buried alive.

alive at Surat under a promise to reappear at Ahmabad, about two hundred miles off. The Nawab of Surat suspected some imposition, and set a party of soldiers to watch the miracle. The holy man was duly buried, and a number of reeds were arranged over his head to keep off the mould. The soldiers then persisted in removing a huge water-jar, which a party of Yogis had set up under a neighbouring tree, and discovered a secret passage leading to the grave. The soldiers were so exasperated at the cheat that they drew their swords upon the Yogis, and slew a dozen on the spot, including the man who had been buried.

Stories of Moghul
India.

Hamilton relates two anecdotes which furnish glimpses of India in Moghul times. During the wars of Aurangzeb against the Mahrattas, a Moghul force landed on the island of Bombay, and occupied it for more than a year, whilst the English were shut up in Bombay Castle. Another Moghul force drove the Mahrattas out of Karwar; and the Moghul general gave an entertainment to the English gentlemen at the factory, and burnt down the factory whilst his guests were eating and drinking in his pavilion.

Hindu financial
administration.

A story is told of the Raj of Cannanore which illustrates the simplicity of Hindu financial administration. The treasury chest was bored with holes and fastened with four different locks, whilst a key was given to the Raja and to each of the three ministers. All public money was put in through the holes, and none could be taken out except in the presence of the four, and when all were agreed as to the expenditure.

The relations between the English and the Hindus

were equally peculiar. In one Raj the inmates of an English factory, eighteen in number, were all massacred because one of their bulldogs killed a cow. A story is also told of a queen of Attinga who fell in love with a young Englishman who was sent to her court with a present from the chief of the factory. She pressed him to marry her, but he declined the honour, and could only be persuaded to stay a month or two with her before returning to his duties at the factory.

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Hindus and English.

Hamilton does not furnish any information respecting the state of civilisation on the eastern side of India. Indeed, during the decline of the Moghul empire, the Dekhan and the Carnatic were sealed countries to Europeans. Bengal, however, was well known; and the following data, supplied by Bernier and Robert Orme, will be found to furnish a picture of the country and its inhabitants.

Dekhan and Carnatic unexplored.

The soil of Bengal was so fertile that the people obtained all the necessaries of life with a less amount of labour than in any other country in the world. Rice, which formed the staple of their food, was often sold on the spot at the rate of two pounds for a farthing. Grains, fruits, vegetables, and the spices used in their cookery, were raised with the utmost ease. Sugar required more careful cultivation, but thrived everywhere. The kine were of a mean race, and gave but little milk, but the defect was made up by the multitude of the animals. Those castes who fed on fish found it swarming in all the streams and ponds in the country; and salt was produced in abundance on the islands near the sea.

Fertility and cheapness of Bengal.

European settlers found Bengal to be equally cheap. Good chickens were to be bought at the rate of twenty

Cheapness of poultry and meat.

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for a rupee, and geese and ducks in like proportion. Sheep and kids were to be had in abundance. Pork was so plentiful that the Portuguese lived on it, and the English and Dutch victualled their ships with it. This cheapness of living, combined with the beauty and good-humour of the women, led to a proverb amongst Europeans that Bengal had a hundred gates open to all comers, and not one by which they could go away.

Climate of
Bengal.

The air of Bengal, however, was not healthy for strangers, especially in those parts which were near the sea. When the English and Dutch first settled there, the mortality was very great. Since then they had prohibited their people from drinking too much punch, and from frequenting the houses of arrack dealers and loose native women. Moreover, they had discovered that a little wine of Bordeaux, Canary, or Shiraz, was a marvellous antidote against the badness of the air. Accordingly there had been much less sickness and mortality amongst the European settlers.

Numberless
canals and
islands.

The whole length of Bengal from Rajmahal to the sea, a distance of some three hundred miles, was full of little channels extending from either side of the river Ganges for a considerable distance into the country. These channels had been cut out of the river with vast labour at some remote period, for the convenience of transporting commodities; and the water was reckoned by the people of India to be the best in the world. The channels were lined on both sides with well-peopled villages of Hindus; whilst the neighbouring fields bore abundance of rice, sugar, corn, pulse, mustard, sezamum for oil, and small mulberry trees for feeding silkworms. The large number of islands, great and small, that thus lay, as it

were, in the midst of the Ganges, imparted an incomparable beauty to the country. They were very fertile, filled with fruit-bearing trees, and interlaced with a thousand little water-channels. Unfortunately many of the islands near the sea had been deserted by the inhabitants on account of the plundering and kidnapping carried on by the Portuguese pirates of Arakan; and since then the islands had been abandoned to tigers, gazelles, hogs, and poultry grown wild.

Robert Orme, who lived for some years in Bengal about the middle of the eighteenth century, bears unfavourable testimony to the native population. He says that the people of Bengal had become so debased by the langour of the climate through a long course of generations, that they not only shared the effeminacy of character common to all the people of India, but were of weaker frame and more enervated disposition than those of any other province. Bodily strength, courage, and fortitude were unknown; even the labour of the common people was totally devoid of energy. Those, however, of the better castes, who were bred to the details of money and traffic, were most patient and persevering; and it was common to see the accounts of a huckster in his stall, who did not exchange the value of two rupees in the day, as voluminous as the books of a considerable merchant in Europe.

Character of the
Bengalis.

In spite of the despotism of the government, the province of Bengal was extremely populous; and as comparatively little labour was required for agricultural pursuits, a large number of the inhabitants were at leisure to work at the loom. The consequence was that more cotton and silk were manufactured in

Cotton and silk.

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Niebuhr's description of Bombay, 1763.

Bengal than in three times the same extent of territory in other parts of the Moghul empire.

The best account of Bombay and Surat in the eighteenth century is furnished by Karsten Niebuhr, the father of the historian of Rome.⁶⁶ Niebuhr landed at Bombay in 1763, two years after the massacre of the Mahrattas by the Afghans at Paniput. The English settlement was still confined to the island, and all the neighbouring territory on the mainland was held by the Mahrattas. Bombay produced nothing but cocoa-nuts and rice, and a considerable quantity of salt, which was collected on the shore. The inhabitants were thus obliged to bring their provisions from the continent, or from the large and fertile island of Salsette, near Bombay, which also belonged to the Mahrattas.

Climate of Bombay.

The sea-breezes and the frequent rains cooled the atmosphere and tempered the climate of the island. The air had been formerly unhealthy and dangerous, but it had become pure since the English drained the marshes in the city and environs. Many Europeans, however, still died suddenly at Bombay. They were mostly newcomers, who shortened their days by a mode of life unsuitable to the climate, eating great quantities of beef and pork, which were prohibited by

⁶⁶ Karsten Niebuhr was born in Hanover in 1733. In 1760, at the age of twenty-seven, he entered the Danish service as lieutenant of Engineers. In 1761, Frederick V., king of Denmark, sent an expedition of savants to explore Egypt, and Niebuhr was attached in the capacity of geographer. Within a year all the members of the expedition died, excepting Niebuhr, who did the work by himself, and finally paid a visit to Bombay and Surat. He returned to Europe in 1767. The results of his travels were published at Copenhagen between the years 1772 and 1778; and as his work was thoroughly original, based upon the notes written on the scene of his journeyings, it is still held in high esteem. He died in 1815, at the advanced age of eighty-two. For this information I am indebted to my publisher, Mr. N. Trübner.

Indian laws, and drinking the hot wines of Portugal in the hottest season. Moreover, they persisted in wearing the European dress, which impeded the free circulation of the blood by its ligatures, and rendered the heat more intolerable by confining the limbs. "The Orientals," says Niebuhr, "live to a great age, and are little subject to disease, because they keep the body at ease in wide flowing robes, abstain from animal food and strong liquors, and eat their principal meal in the evening after sundown."

The island of Bombay was twenty miles in circumference. The city was only two miles round, and was defended by strong fortifications on the land side, and by an indifferent castle facing the sea. The houses were not flat-roofed, as in other Eastern towns, but were covered with tiles in the European fashion. The English inhabitants had glass windows to their houses, but the natives were content with windows made of small transparent shells.

The toleration granted to all religions by the English government had rendered the island very populous. The inhabitants were reckoned at 140,000 souls, and had more than doubled during the previous twenty years. The Europeans were but a small fraction of the population; for they did not marry, and consequently did not multiply. The bulk of the inhabitants were Portuguese or Indian Catholics, Hindus, Persians, Muhammadans of different sects, and some Oriental Christians.

In 1764 Niebuhr made a voyage to Surat. The city belonged to the Moghuls, and contained no handsome mosques with towers, such as would have been built by Turks or Arabs. The squares were large and the streets were spacious; but they were

Government and people.
Description of Surat, 1764.

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unpaved, and the dust was insufferable. Each street had gates of its own, which were shut up in times of turbulence; and disturbances were as common at Surat as at Cairo. The population was estimated by Niebuhr to number 300,000 souls.

Hospital for sick
and maimed
animals.

There was no hospital for human beings at Surat, but a very large asylum for sick or maimed animals. Whenever a European turned out an old horse or any other domestic animal, the Hindus took charge of it and placed it in this building, which was full of infirm decrepit cows, sheep, rabbits, hens, pigeons, and other similar creatures. Niebuhr saw a great tortoise, blind and helpless, which he was told was a hundred and thirty-five years of age. The charitable Hindus kept a physician to attend on these animals.

An Oriental
garden.

There were numerous gardens in the environs of Surat. Niebuhr describes one which had been formed by one of the later Nawabs of Surat at a cost of fifty thousand pounds sterling. It was very extensive, but there was no regularity in the design, and nothing in the fashion of a European garden except a few ponds and fountains; the rest was a confused medley of buildings and small orchards. There was one large mansion, having baths and saloons, which was adorned with all the magnificence of India. The other buildings were harems for the Nawab's wives; each lady having her own little court entirely separated from those of the others. Every harem had one good apartment for the lady, and a number of very narrow chambers for her slaves. Niebuhr was particularly struck by the passages running between the different suites of rooms; they were so narrow, so winding, and so blocked up by doors, as to reveal the distrust with which all great people

in despotic countries regarded every one about them. CHAP. IX.

The foregoing evidence of European travellers enables us to realise the condition of India before the rise of the British empire, but it will not permit a close comparison to be drawn of the relative merits of Moghul and Hindu rule. One traveller alone ventures to offer an opinion upon this vexed question, and his conclusions are entitled to respect; for his experiences were large and varied, and his judgment was unbiassed by any personal considerations. Captain Hamilton roundly asserts that the Hindu people were better contented to live under the Moghul dominion than under their own princes. "The Moghul," he says, "taxes the people gently, and every one knows what he has to pay; but the Hindu Rajas tax at discretion, making their own avarice the standard of equity. Moreover, the Rajas used to pick quarrels with one another on frivolous occasions; and before they could be made friends again, their subjects were forced to open both their veins and purses to gratify ambition and folly."

Comparative
merits of Moghul
and Hindu rule.

CHAPTER X.

PROVINCIAL HISTORY : BENGAL. A.D. 1700 TO 1756.

CHAP. X.

Importance of
the history of
Bengal.

THE history of the provinces during the decline of the Moghul empire is singularly obscure. With the exception of Bengal, the information supplied by European residents or travellers is extremely scanty. Those at Madras knew little or nothing of what was going on at Arcot or Hyderabad; whilst those at Bombay were shut out from the Moghul provinces by the military empire of the Mahrattas. More, however, is known of Bengal than of any other part of India. The Muhammadan author of the "*Siyár-ul-Mutaqherin*," or "*Review of Modern Times*," was well acquainted with Bengal, and tells its history at great length from the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 down to the administration of Warren Hastings; whilst Mr. Holwell, who served in Bengal during a greater part of the same period, has published a narrative of events in Bengal as they appeared to the eyes of European contemporaries.¹

Moghul rule in
Bengal.

Bengal was conquered by the Moghuls under Akbar towards the end of the sixteenth century. Before

¹ The principal authorities for the history of Bengal are as follows :—

The *Siyár-ul-Mutaqherin*, by Gholam Hussin Khan, translated into English by a French renegade. Three volumes quarto. Calcutta : 1785.

Interesting Historical Events relative to the Province of Bengal, by J. L. Holwell. Second edition in octavo. London : 1766.

History of Bengal, by Major Charles Stewart. Quarto. London : 1813.

that period it had long been a bone of contention between black Abyssinians and tawny Afghans. One barbarous adventurer after another ascended the throne by the murder of his predecessor, and, after a short career of unbridled license, was murdered in his turn, whilst the timid Bengalis looked helplessly on. The Moghul conquest introduced a settled government, and was so far a blessing to all classes. The administration of the province was intrusted to a Moghul prince of the blood; and for nearly a century the land had rest under the tolerant rule of the Moghul. Sometimes the country was the theatre of rebellion; the prince at the head of the province broke out in revolt against his imperial father; and villages were plundered and ravaged by lawless mercenaries. But the people were ignorant and superstitious, and blindly submissive to their fate; and consequently they were perhaps as contented and happy as the birds of the air or the beasts of the field.

Towards the latter end of the seventeenth century the Hindus were harassed by the religious persecutions of Aurangzeb. A Nawab was appointed, who carried out his orders without scruple or remorse. Idols were destroyed, temples were broken down, festivals prohibited, and the worship of the gods suppressed with a strong hand. Many Bengalis became Muhammadans; but many broke out in rebellion. At last the disturbances grew serious, and Aurangzeb recalled the hated Nawab, and placed the government into new hands. He appointed his grandson Azim to be Subahdar or Nawab of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa; and a converted Brahman, named Mir Jafir Khan, to be Dewan, or superintendent of the finances of Bengal.

Religious persecutions of Aurangzeb.

Azim has left no mark in history. He was a son

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Viceroyalty of
Azim.

of Shah Alam, who afterwards succeeded Aurangzeb on the throne of Hindustan under the name of Bahadur Shah. He held his court at Dacca, surrounded by favourites and parasites, and indulging in all the pleasures which were common to Moghul princes in the olden time.²

Rise of Mir Jafir
Khan, Dewan of
Bengal.

Mir Jafir Khan, better known by his later name of Murshed Kuli Khan, was an official of a very different stamp. His fanatical zeal as a convert to Islam recommended him at an early period to the notice of Aurangzeb, whilst his talent for increasing the revenue and cutting down the expenditure secured his rapid elevation. Accordingly he appears to have risen from a small appointment in the revenue department of Berar to the post of Dewan of Hyderabad, and finally to the still more important post of Dewan of Bengal.

Distinction
between the
Viceroy and the
Dewan.

During the reign of Aurangzeb the office of Nawab was always kept distinct from that of Dewan. The Nawab was the military governor of the province, who enforced a strict obedience to the laws as administered by the Kázi and Kotwal.³ The Dewan superintended the collection of the revenue and checked the expenditure in salaries and establishments. Accordingly there was sometimes a clashing between the two offices. The Nawab and his courtiers wanted money for their pleasures, but could draw nothing for their personal use beyond their allotted salaries. The Dewan, on the other hand, was zealous

² According to current scandal, Azim was very fastidious about his harem, which was constantly supplied by fresh inmates from all parts of his government.

³ Nawab or Subahdar were often convertible terms, both signifying the military and civil government, but Subahdar was perhaps the higher title. In Bengal the governor was known as the Nawab, or Nawab Nazim; the term Nawab denoting his military command, whilst that of Nazim referred to the administration of justice and other civil duties.

in collecting every item of revenue and in cutting down all possible expenses, well knowing that under the eye of a strict master like Aurangzeb the favour of the sovereign was only to be gained by remitting the largest possible surplus to the imperial treasury.⁴

A young prince like Azim, who was the grandson of the reigning sovereign, would naturally grow jealous and impatient of a Dewan like Mir Jafir. Accordingly he secretly plotted to get rid of him. One day when the Dewan was proceeding to the palace at Dacca to pay his respects, he was surrounded by a body of troops who clamoured for arrears of pay, and were evidently bent on mischief. Mir Jafir did not stop to parley, but charged them at once at the head of his guards. The would-be assassins fled in dismay, whilst the Dewan hurried to the palace and openly charged the prince with having authorised the attempt on his life. Azim was thoroughly alarmed. He knew his grandfather was suspicious and remorseless, and that an inkling of the plot would be followed by his own destruction. Accordingly he did his best to pacify the Dewan by protesting his own innocence and threatening his direst vengeance against the offenders.

Plot of the Viceroy to murder the Dewan.

Mir Jafir feigned to be satisfied, and left the palace; but he sent a complaint to Aurangzeb, and fled from Dacca to Murshedabad.⁵ The result was that Azim was removed to Patna, and subsequently

Murshed Kuli Khan, Nawab and Dewan.

⁴ After the death of Aurangzeb there was often collusion between the Viceroy and the Dewan, and the yearly remittances to Delhi gradually dwindled to nothing; but such collusion was next to impossible under the severe rule of Aurangzeb.

⁵ Murshedabad was at this time named Mukhsusabad. Subsequently, when Mir Jafir received the title of Murshed Kuli Khan, he named the place Murshedabad, or "the city of Murshed."

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returned to Delhi; whilst Mir Jafir was rewarded with the title of Murshed Kuli Khan, and ultimately appointed Nawab Nazim, as well as Dewan, of the three provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.

Cruel oppression
of the Zemindars.

Murshed Kuli Khan, as he was henceforth called, improved the revenues of his government by making short work with the Zemindars. Many were summoned to Murshedabad and thrown into prison; others were removed from their districts and placed on small subsistence allowances; and in both cases the revenue was collected by officers of his own appointment, known as Aumils. Meanwhile he re-measured all the lands and reassessed the amount of rent or revenue to be paid, and henceforth he was rigid and exacting to the last degree. Defaulters were subjected to every species of torture; they were exposed to the burning sun, or tormented with live cats, or dragged through ponds of filth.⁶ In other respects, he ruled the three provinces like an irresponsible despot whose word was law. Neither Zemindars nor Rajas were allowed to sit down in his presence, nor even to speak to one another. They were prohibited from riding in a palanquin, and were compelled to use an inferior conveyance. The consequence was that for many years after his death his memory was held in detestation throughout the three provinces.

Praises of
Murshed Kuli
Khan by
Muhammadan
historians.

Nevertheless, whilst Murshed Kuli Khan was hated and feared by the Hindus, he was lauded to the skies by the Muhammadan historians. He was ever zealous in the propagation of Islam. He maintained two

⁶ Vaikuntha was the heaven of Vishnu. Accordingly these ponds of filth, which were a regular institution at Murshedabad, were sarcastically known as Vaikuntha.

thousand public readers and chanters of the Koran. He feasted people of all conditions during the great Muhammadan festivals, and on such occasions the road was illuminated for miles with lamps representing mosques, shrines, and verses of the Koran. He kept down the price of grain by a despotic process which is greatly admired in Oriental countries. He employed spies to learn all that was going on in the markets. He punished every attempt to raise prices. He broke up private hoards, and compelled the owners to sell them in the bazars. He prohibited all exportations of grain, and would not permit European ships to carry away more than was necessary for victualling the crew during the voyage. Above all, he displayed on all occasions the most profound respect and veneration for the Padishah. He never presumed to seat himself in a royal boat; and whenever the royal fleet approached Murshedabad, he always went out to meet it, and made his obeisance, presented his *nuzzir*, and kissed the deck of the royal barge.

When Murshed Kuli Khan was growing old, he employed a menial but confidential servant, named Murád Ferash, to build a tomb and a mosque. Murád completed the task in a way which was most offensive to the Hindus. He procured the materials by pulling down all the Hindu temples in Murshedabad and the surrounding country; and neither prayers nor bribes could move him from his purpose. He threatened to pull down other pagodas at a distance from the capital, but accepted large sums of money from Zemindars and other Hindus by way of ransom. He compelled all wealthy Hindus either to send their servants to work at the building or to purchase exemption. No one dared to disobey, or even to complain to the

Mausoleum
built at the
expense of
Hindu pagodas.

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Nawab. The tomb and mosque were then surrounded by a square of shops, and a public market was annexed, in order that the duties levied on all sales and purchases might be appropriated to the repair of the buildings.

Daughter of
Murshed Kuli
Khan deserts
her husband,
Shuja Khan.

Murshed Kuli Khan had no sons, but a favourite daughter, who was married to a Turk named Shuja Khan. The marriage was unhappy. Shuja Khan was appointed Deputy Nawab of Orissa, and went with his wife to Cuttack; but he soon disgusted her by his infidelities, and she returned to her father at Murshedabad, accompanied by a son named Sarfaráz Khan.

Death of
Murshed Kuli
Khan, 1725.

Henceforth the old Nawab hated his son-in-law and doted on his grandson. He used his utmost interest at Delhi to secure the appointment of Sarfaráz Khan to succeed him after his death in the government of the three provinces. He died in 1725, leaving Sarfaráz Khan in the possession of all his treasures, and in the hourly expectation of receiving from Delhi the insignia of investiture to the vacant throne.

Shuja Khan, Nawab of Bengal, Behar, and; Orissa, 1725-39.

Meanwhile Shuja Khan at Cuttack had been equally active and more successful. One day, whilst Sarfaráz Khan was sitting in a palace in the suburbs of Murshedabad awaiting for the insignia of his appointment, he was startled by the ominous thunder of imperial music. To his utter dismay he learnt that his father, Shuja Khan, had suddenly arrived at Murshedabad and displayed the insignia of investiture, including the fringed palanquin and the imperial standard of the fish, and had then ascended the throne in the hall of forty pillars, amidst the acclamations of all the grandees at Murshedabad, and the deafening noise of trumpets and kettledrums. The

young prince saw that nothing could be done. Even his injured mother assured him that it would be madness to resist his father. Accordingly he hurried to the palace of forty pillars, paid his respects to the new Nawab, offered his congratulations, presented his *nuzziv*, and was rewarded with the honorary post of Dewan of Bengal.⁷

Shuja Khan brought with him two brothers, whom he had taken into his service at Cuttack, and who had gained his favour by secret services of a questionable character. Their names were Haji Ahmad and Ali Vardi Khan. It was said that they belonged to a noble family at Delhi; but according to scandal, Haji Ahmad was originally a table-servant, whilst Ali Vardi Khan was placed in charge of his master's hookah. Haji Ahmad, the elder of the two, was a timid, crafty individual, with a genius for intrigue. He was appointed chief minister, and by a zealous subservience to the tastes of the Nawab, he soon exercised a commanding influence in affairs of state. It is said that he ransacked the province in search of fresh inmates for the Nawab's seraglio, and that he never attended the nightly levée at the palace without bringing a new face to tempt the Nawab. Ali Vardi Khan, the younger brother, was a soldier born and bred, and was appointed to the command of a body of horse in the service of the Nawab.

Two Muhammadan favourites:
Haji Ahmad and
Ali Vardi Khan.

Besides these two Muhammadan brothers, Shuja Khan entertained two Hindus in his service, named Alam Chand and Jagat Seit. Alam Chand, better known by his title of Rai Rayan, was a Hindu of

Two Hindu Ministers: Alam
Chand and
Jagat Seit.

⁷ Such honorary appointments were often given to young princes during the decline of the Moghul empire, whilst the duties were kept in the hands of some responsible minister.

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large financial experience. He was, in fact, a type of those grave and respectable Bengali officials, who always appeared devoted to their duties and their master's interest, but nevertheless were incessantly occupied in hoarding up private treasures in every possible way. Jagat Seit was the head of a famous banking family at Murshedabad, who had flourished during the reign of Aurangzeb. Jagat Seit had rendered great services to old Mir Jafir by advancing the sums of money which procured him the post of Nawab and Dewan of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.

Indolent administration.

Shuja Khan was a type of the easy-going Nawabs, who tried to make things pleasant all round, in order that they might devote themselves to their pleasures. He liberated the Zemindars who had been imprisoned by his late father-in-law, but threatened to remove them from their posts, and transfer their lands to other Zemindars, if there was any further irregularity in the payment of revenue. He also abolished some additional taxes, which had been imposed by Murshed Ali Khan, and pressed heavily upon the Zemindars. He then left the administration in the hands of his four confidential advisers, who formed a council of state at Murshedabad; and henceforth he frittered away his time in the ordinary routine of a self-indulgent Moghul.

Ali Vardi Khan,
Deputy Nawab
of Behar.

Some time afterwards the post of Deputy Nawab of Behar⁸ became vacant, and Haji Ahmad used his influence in the seraglio to procure the appointment of his brother, Ali Vardi Khan. At this

⁸ Ali Vardi Khan was sometimes called the Deputy Nawab of Patna, as Patna was the capital of the province, and the place where he generally resided.

juncture the wife of Shuja Khan claimed the right of disposing of the appointment as daughter and heiress of Murshed Ali Khan. Such a pretension was contrary to the Moghul constitution, but Shuja Khan gave way, and Ali Vardi Khan went to the door of the lady's apartment, and received with the utmost deference and humility the dress of honour which constituted him Deputy Nawab of Behar.

Meanwhile the young prince, Sarfaráz Khan, boiled over at the favour shown to the two Muhammadan brothers. He told his father in public durbar that he was warming and cherishing two snakes that would sting him and his family to death. The Nawab was so exasperated at this presumption that he threw his son into confinement. But Haji Ahmad was crafty enough to intercede for Sarfaráz Khan, and the young prince was released, but he continued to hate the obnoxious minister as much as ever.

Wrath of Sarfaráz Khan, son of Shuja Khan.

All this while both the Muhammadan brothers were labouring hard to strengthen their respective positions. Haji Ahmad won over the Zemindars of Bengal by taking to himself all the credit of having released them from prison, whilst he undermined the authority of Shuja Khan by secretly sneering at his weaknesses and vices.

Ambitious designs of the two Muhammadan brothers.

Ali Vardi Khan was equally active in reducing all the refractory Rajas in Behar. Some he invited to Patna with warm professions of friendship and respect, and then murdered them without hesitation or shame. Others he attacked by force of arms, and compelled them to pay tribute and acknowledge his authority. In all these transactions he was especially helped by an Afghan officer, named Abdul Khurim Khan, who

Destruction of Hindu Rajas in Behar by the Afghan contingent.

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had entered his service with a corps of fifteen hundred Afghan mercenaries.

Obstinate bravery
of the Chukwar
Raja.

Ali Vardi Khan next attempted the conquest of the Chukwars, a brave and warlike race of Hindus who occupied a territory on the river Sambu, between Patna and Monghyr. The Raja of the Chukwars was a turbulent chieftain, who had never paid tribute, nor even acknowledged the supremacy of the Moghul; whilst, to crown his misdoings, he persisted in levying duties on all goods that passed up or down the river above Monghyr. It was this Raja, and others like him, that compelled the European settlers in Lower Bengal to maintain an armament for the escort of money and goods to Patna and back; and a Major Hunt, who commanded the East Indian Company's troops at Calcutta, had often had a brush with the old Hindu warrior, and fought him hand to hand.

Submission of
the new Raja.

The Raja, however, died in 1730, and was succeeded by a son of seventeen, who came to terms with Ali Vardi Khan and agreed to pay tribute. The necessary precautions were then taken to prevent treachery on either side. Every year the young Raja brought the money to a specified spot near Monghyr, accompanied by thirty followers only; whilst a Moghul officer came to the same spot to receive the money, also accompanied by the like number of thirty followers.

Shameless
treachery of
Ali Vardi Khan,
1735.

In 1735 an English convoy was going up the river Ganges with money and goods for the factory at Patna. The boats were in charge of a young civilian named Holwell, whilst the escort of European troops was commanded by a Captain Holcombe. On the morning of the 20th of October the party encamped

in a grove near Monghyr. About eleven o'clock they saw a boat going by, apparently loaded with baskets of fish. The boat was hailed and came up, when the baskets were found to be filled with human heads. It appeared that a vile act of treachery had been just committed by Ali Vardi Khan. The yearly tribute had been paid that very morning by the Raja of the Chukwars, but an ambuscade of four hundred men had been posted in the neighbourhood by Ali Vardi Khan. The result was that the Raja and his thirty followers had been surrounded and murdered, and their heads were being dispatched in baskets to Patna for the satisfaction of Ali Vardi Khan.

That same day Alivardi Khan sent another force to plunder and destroy the city of Sambu, the capital of the Chukwars. Towards evening the English party at Monghyr saw clouds of smoke rising from the city. The young girl-widow of the Raja had shut herself up in the palace with an infant son and all her attendants, and had then set the building on fire and perished in the flames. The soldiers of Ali Vardi Khan found the city deserted. Accordingly they plundered the houses and set them on fire, and then returned to Patna.

Destruction of
the city of the
Chukwars.

After this exploit Abdul Khurim Khan, the Afghan commandant, began to presume upon his services. He grew insolent and insubordinate and resented every rebuke. Ali Vardi Khan saw that the Afghan was becoming dangerous, and laid his plans accordingly. Abdul Khurim Khan was summoned to the palace and sharply reprimanded, and just as he was about to reply in defiant language, he was overpowered by a body of assassins and cut to pieces on the spot. This catastrophe filled the Afghan soldiery with fear

Murder of the
Afghan
commandant.

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and trembling, and henceforth no one dared to utter a word of disrespect to Ali Vardi Khan.

Intrigues at
Delhi.

Meanwhile Ali Vardi Khan was playing another game at Delhi. He was eager to throw off the control of Shuja Khan and to become the independent Nawab of Behar. Accordingly he sent emissaries to the court at Delhi to distribute bribes amongst the ministers and courtiers, in order to procure the letters and insignia of investiture direct from the Padishah. Shuja Khan got an inkling of what was going on, and placed Haji Ahmad in prison as some check on the ambitious designs of his brother in Behar; but he was soon coaxed over by submissive and deceitful letters from Ali Vardi Khan, as well as by the caresses of the favourite ladies of the seraglio, who were all on the side of the disgraced minister. The result was that Haji Ahmad was released from prison and restored to favour, whilst the disaffection was allowed to drift on.

Suspicious death
of Shuja Khan,
1739.

Suddenly Shuja Khan found that he had been outwitted. His old servant, Ali Vardi Khan, was appointed Nawab of Behar direct from Delhi; and the insignia of investiture—the fringed palanquin, the standard of the fish, and the imperial kettledrums—were received with the utmost pomp and rejoicings at Patna. Shuja Khan was furious at the tidings. He planned a safe and certain scheme of revenge against the two brothers; but on the eve of its execution he was carried off by death, and it was currently believed at Murshedabad that he had been poisoned in the seraglio at the instance of Haji Ahmad.

Praises of Shuja
Khan.

Shuja Khan belonged to a transition period. The imperial sovereignty of the great Moghul was on

the wane, but it was still recognised as the supreme authority throughout Hindustan. Shuja Khan was not a stern tyrant, like his father-in-law, Murshed Kuli Khan; on the contrary, he laboured hard to propitiate his grantees. He sent trays of excellent dishes of every variety of victuals to all persons in his service with whom he was acquainted, sometimes twice a week, sometimes every other day, and sometimes every day. Whenever the compliment was once paid, it was never discontinued. He sent presents to every stranger of note who came to Murshedabad, and even to strangers who were unknown, provided their manners and language showed that they were gentlemen. At the same time none of his servants or dependants were allowed to take a gratuity; all who disobeyed were dismissed his service, and all informers were handsomely rewarded.

Shuja Khan also entered the name of every one he knew in a memorandum-book with ivory leaves, and every now and then he added a sum of money to one of the names. In such cases he did not order the amount to be paid to the person named, but he sent for some Zemindar who was behindhand with his rent, and told him that the person in question had been appointed to enforce payment of his arrears, and that he must give him in addition the sum specified as a perquisite. The offending Zemindar always complied with the demand, and generally gave an extra present to the person who had been so recommended by the Nawab.

Sarfaráz Khan, son of Shuja Khan, now succeeded to the throne as Nawab of Bengal and Orissa. He was quite as much a slave to his pleasures as his deceased father, but he was more insolent and violent. He did

Peculiar money presents.

Sarfaráz Khan, Nawab of Bengal and Orissa, 1739-42: his arrogance.

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not dismiss the three ministers, Haji Ahmad, Alam Chand Rai, and Jagat Seit, but he treated them with a contemptuous arrogance which was intolerable. He abused Haji Ahmad in the foulest language, and taunted him with having been the pander to Shuja Khan. He even treated Alam Chand with indignity because that venerable Hindu ventured to remonstrate with him on the bitterness of his tongue.

Unpardonable
affront to Jagat
Seit.

Soon after his accession Sarfaráz Khan gave mortal offence to Jagat Seit. The grandson of the Hindu banker was married with great pomp, and the Nawab persisted in seeing the face of the bride without a veil. Jagat Seit implored him to abandon the idea, as the exposure of a girl's face to a strange man would render her impure in the eyes of the family. But the Nawab was deaf to every entreaty. He sent a party of horsemen to surround the house of Jagat Seit and bring away the girl to his palace. She was sent back the same night without further injury; but the whole family was overwhelmed with the disgrace, whilst the unfortunate bride was condemned to widowhood for the remainder of her days.

Intrigues and
conspiracies.

Under such circumstances there was treason in the air. Every one was eager to plot against the Nawab, but afraid of exciting his suspicions. Haji Ahmad sounded Jagat Seit and Alam Chand Rai, and found they were ripe for revolt; whilst the Nawab's master of the ordnance arranged to load the artillery with nothing but dust and powder. At last a conspiracy was formed for dethroning Sarfaráz Khan and setting up Ali Vardi Khan as his successor in the Nawabship of Bengal and Orissa, in addition to Behar.

The troubled state of Hindustan was singularly favourable to the conspirators. There was nothing to fear from Delhi, for the imperial authority had been shattered by the invasion of Nadir Shah, and the Moghul court was in a state of stupor. There was nothing to fear at Murshedabad so long as Sarfaráz Khan was kept lulled in a false security. There was more difficulty about opening up a communication with Ali Vardi Khan at Patna, as letters might be intercepted ; but the two Hindu ministers prevailed on Sarfaráz Khan to send Haji Ahmad into exile, and thus the latter was enabled to make his way to Patna without exciting suspicion or alarm.

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Fortune favours
the conspirators.

The two brothers soon organised a rebellion at Patna. Both indulged in a little preliminary duplicity. Haji Ahmad exaggerated the indignities he had received at Murshedabad. Ali Vardi Khan lamented that the safety of his family could only be ensured by rebelling against the son of his patron and benefactor. Ali Vardi Khan also sent a crafty letter to Sarfaráz Khan, imploring him to forgive the unfortunate Haji Ahmad, and to restore him to his former favour.

Secret rebellion
at Patna.

Ali Vardi Khan had no intention of waiting for a reply to this letter. He assembled all his officers, and obliged the Muhammadans to swear on the Koran, and the Hindus to swear on a vessel of Ganges water, that they would be faithful to his cause and would follow him to the death. He then told them that he was about to march against the Nawab Sarfaráz Khan to redress the wrongs committed on his family. The officers were staggered at the idea of rebellion, but they had taken the oath ; and Ali Vardi Khan clenched the business by promising to discharge

Solemn swear-
ing-in of officers.

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all arrears of pay, and to distribute an additional sum of three hundred thousand rupees the moment they had marched through the pass of Sikliguli and entered the plains of Bengal.

Sikliguli pass
from Behar into
Bengal.

The possession of this pass was of the utmost importance to Ali Vardi Khan. It was supposed to be the only passage leading from Behar into Bengal. It was of considerable length, but only ten or twelve feet wide, and was bounded on one flank by an impenetrable forest, and on the other by the river Ganges. Had Sarfaráz Khan been alive to the coming rebellion, he might have blocked up the pass with a small body of men. As it was, the rebel army hurried through by forced marches for the sake of the promised money, and entered the plains of Bengal before Sarfaráz Khan was aware that it had left Patna.

An empty
treasury.

When, however, Ali Vardi Khan had escaped the perils of the pass he encountered a new danger. His treasury was nearly empty, whilst his officers were clamouring round his tent, and refusing to march a step farther without the money. He dismissed them with an air of authority, assuring them that they would be paid at once, whilst he was well aware that he could not satisfy a tenth of their claims. He had a secret conference with his confidential servants. Some proposed sending to Murshedabad and borrowing the money of Mir Jafir. Others saw no alternative but to beat a retreat and return to Patna. Accordingly Ali Vardi Khan was in despair.

Services of
Omichund, the
Patna banker.

At this crisis a Patna banker named Omichund solved the difficulty. Omichund had accompanied the army to carry on his usual money-lending business with the officers and men. He had only twenty

thousand rupees in hand; but with this small sum, added to the balance in the treasury, he pledged himself to satisfy the army. Under his directions, Ali Vardi Khan ordered the troops to assemble to receive the promised pay. Every man hastened to the spot with his account already made out in his girdle or turban. The paymaster was ordered to pass all the small accounts with the utmost promptitude, and pay them with cheques on Omichund, but to subject all the larger claims to a lengthier examination. Meanwhile Omichund feigned to be equally eager to cash the cheques; but nearly every man owed something for advances and interest, and the debt had to be calculated and deducted from every cheque. Accordingly darkness came on before the more important cheques were cashed, and Omichund feigned to be so fatigued as to be obliged to defer further payments till next morning. When the night had set in the kettledrums were beaten throughout the camp; proclamation was made that Sarfaráz Khan was approaching with the Bengal army, and preparations were made for battle at daybreak. Next morning Ali Vardi Khan began the march to Murshedabad, keeping up the alarm and expectation of the soldiery until he actually encountered the army of Sarfaráz Khan.

The fighting which followed was a farce. There was much smoke and confusion, but very little slaughter, except amongst the faithful few that remained staunch to Sarafáz Khan. At last Sarfaráz Khan and most of his adherents were slain, whilst his brother-in-law, Murshed Kuli Khan, fled away to Orissa to hold that province against the conqueror.

The death of Sarfaráz Khan put an end to the

Sham battle:
death of Sarfaráz
Khan.

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Alivardi Khan
enthroned at
Murshedabad.

battle. Ali Vardi Khan permitted the rebel soldiers to plunder the Bengal camp, but sent his brother, Haji Ahmad, to Murshedabad, to secure the city and treasures. After two days Ali Vardi Khan entered Murshedabad in triumph, and took his seat upon the throne in the hall of forty pillars.⁹ The kettledrums and trumpets proclaimed the accession of a new Nawab, and all the chief men of the city hastened to pay their homage and present their *nuzzirs* to the conqueror. Alam Chand Rai was the foremost amongst these time-servers, but when he returned to his house he was reproached so bitterly by his wife for his disloyalty towards the fallen family, that he put an end to his life by swallowing diamond powder.

Faith in Mustafa
Khan, the Af-
ghan general.

Ali Vardi Khan had gained his victories by the aid of his Afghans, and despised Bengali soldiers as cowards and traitors. His leading general was an Afghan soldier of fortune, named Mustafa Khan; and he put his trust in Mustafa Khan, and treated him as his right-hand man.

Establishes his
authority in
Bengal.

Ali Vardi Khan had no sons. Accordingly he adopted three nephews, the sons of his brother Haji Ahmad, and gave to each of them one of his daughters in marriage. He left the youngest at Patna as Deputy Nawab of Behar, and he appointed the eldest to be Deputy Nawab at Dacca; and he proposed to set up the middle one as Deputy Nawab of Orissa by driving out Murshed Kuli Khan. Mean-

⁹ An Asiatic throne in the eighteenth century was not a chair of state, but a kind of mattress of carpets, quilts, and tapestries, which was spread upon the floor. The Nawab sat cross-legged between richly embroidered cushions, with a sword of state on one side and a dagger on the other. Before him was a cambric handkerchief carefully folded, a small knife to open letters, and a vessel of prepared betel.

while he is said to have sent a vast sum to Delhi to purchase for himself letters and insignia of investiture as Nawab of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa; but this is extremely doubtful. It would have been a sheer waste of money, inasmuch as the Moghul court was still paralysed by the recent invasion of Nadir Shah, and powerless to interfere in a remote province like Bengal. The insignia of the fish, the palanquin, and the kettledrums were certainly received with the utmost pomp at Murshedabad, but it was generally believed that they were a sham, and had been supplied by Jagat Seit, the banker, in order to impose upon the people of the three provinces.

Ali Vardi Khan next marched an army into Orissa. Acquires Orissa. A battle was fought; but the Afghan mercenaries of Murshed Kuli Khan went over to the usurper in the middle of the action. Murshed Kuli Khan saw that all was lost, and fled to the sea-shore, and embarked on board a ship bound for Masulipatam, and found an asylum in the territories of Nizam-ul-mulk. Meanwhile Ali Vardi Khan pushed on to Cuttack, the capital of the province, and placed his second nephew on the throne as Deputy Nawab.

The new Deputy Nawab of Orissa cared for nothing but women and money. No household was safe against his licentious demands, whilst men of wealth were subjected to false charges, and scourged and tortured until they surrendered their secret hoards. The people shrunk from open rebellion, but they schemed and plotted; whilst Mirza Bakir, the son-in-law of Murshed Kuli Khan, hovered on the frontier, ready to take advantage of the first disturbance to recover possession of the province.

Suddenly the growing disaffection broke out in a

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Revolution at
Cuttack.

riot in the streets of Cuttack. The young Deputy Nawab sent his bodyguard to suppress the turmoil; but the commandant, one of Ali Vardi Khan's veterans, was overpowered and torn to pieces. Mirza Bakir appeared in the city and placed himself at the head of the insurrection. The gates of the palace were thrown open from within, and the garrison rushed out and joined the insurgents. Mirza Bakir threw the Deputy Nawab into a prison and became master of the palace and treasures. He then took his seat upon the throne, and received the congratulations and *nuzzirs* of the very grandees who had hailed the accession of the nephew of Ali Vardi Khan only a few months before.

Alarm of
Ali Vardi Khan:
difficulty with
the Afghans.

News of this rising soon reached Ali Vardi Khan. At first he suspected that Nizam-ul-mulk was at the bottom of it, and was half inclined to leave Orissa in the hands of Mirza Bakir provided his son-in-law was released. At last he resolved on war, but there was an unexpected difficulty. New Afghan levies were peremptorily required, but none would enlist unless these new levies were brought on a permanent establishment; and Mustafa Khan and his officers took the same side. Ali Vardi Khan ended by solemnly swearing that not a man should be disbanded at the close of the campaign. New levies were accordingly enlisted in large numbers, and Ali Vardi Khan marched his army to Cuttack, offering a lakh of rupees, or ten thousand pounds sterling, for the rescue of his son-in-law.

Perilous
captivity.

Mirza Bakir was aware of the approaching danger and anxious to come to terms. He marched an army out of Cuttack, but carried his prisoner, the ex-Deputy Nawab, in a waggon covered over with white cloth and secured by a network of ropes. Two Tartar

soldiers were placed in the waggon with orders to stab the prince to death if there was any attempt at rescue ; whilst a body of Mahratta horsemen were posted round the waggon, also under orders to thrust their spears through the covering at sign of danger, and destroy alike the prince and his executioners.

The result was somewhat curious. Mirza Bakir was defeated and compelled to fly for his life. A select body of Ali Vardi Khan's horsemen charged the waggon, but the Tartars were speared by the Mahrattas before they could dispatch the prince, and the prince escaped by shielding himself with their bodies, and was finally rescued by the horsemen.

Escape of
Ali Vardi Khan's
son-in-law.

Ali Vardi Khan then marched to Cuttack and re- stored his authority at Orissa ; but he refused to reinstate his son-in-law, and placed the government in new hands. Having thus secured the province, he violated his solemn promise to Mustafa Khan, and disbanded the new levies to a man. He then returned slowly towards Murshedabad, but halted frequently on the way in order to hunt and shoot in the jungles.

Settlement of
Orissa.

The Afghan generals were at once mortified and exasperated. Mustafa Khan was especially angry. He had interceded in behalf of a Hindu Raja who had espoused the cause of Mirza Bahir, but he had been rebuffed and reprimanded ; and the Raja and his attendants had been brutally murdered in the audience hall at Cuttack in the presence of Ali Vardi Khan. Meanwhile news arrived that another Afghan officer had been treacherously murdered in the durbar at Patna, and Mustafa Khan was bent on revenge.¹⁰

Wrath of
Mustafa Khan.

¹⁰ The story of the murdered Afghan at Patna reveals something of India in the olden time. The man had been appointed Foujdar of Shahabad, a

CHAP. X.

Mahratta
invasion.

At this juncture, while Ali Vardi Khan was taking his pleasure in the woods of Midnapore, an overwhelming host of Mahratta horsemen from Nagpore was swarming over the western hills of Birbhúm, and advancing towards Burdwan. They were commanded by Bhaskar Pant, the minister of Rughaji Bhonsla, Raja of Berar, and began to plunder and devastate according to their wont; but there was a mystery about their movements. Some thought that the Nagpore host was acting under the orders of the Peishwa at the Mahratta court at Satara. Others, again, thought that the Mahratta invasion had been instigated by Nizam-ul-mulk, who was supposed to entertain sinister designs against Bengal.

Mahrattas'
demand of ten
lakhs rejected.

Ali Vardi Khan professed to hold the Mahrattas in contempt, but nevertheless he hurried off to Burdwan with the small force at his disposal. Bhaskar Pant, however, was not anxious for battle; all that he wanted was chout, or a contribution in lieu of chout. Accordingly he offered to go away if Ali Vardi Khan would send him ten lakhs of rupees, or a hundred thousand pounds sterling. Ali Vardi Khan affected to regard this as an insult, and told Bhaskar Pant that he might invade Bengal if he dared.

Mahrattas
demand a
hundred lakhs.

The Mahrattas played their usual game of cutting off supplies and stragglers without coming to action. At last Ali Vardi Khan made a general charge; but his Afghans refused to fight, whilst the Mahrattas

difficult tract infested by lawless Zemindars, who lived on plunder and blackmail. The Foujdar shared the gains of these brigands; and when the Zemindars were rooted out of their strongholds by an army from Patna, he rudely called on the Deputy Nawab to set them at liberty and restore their estates. The young prince was mortally offended; assassins were hired, and the turbulent Afghan was suddenly overpowered and murdered in open durbar.

plundered the camp in his rear, and then surrounded him in overwhelming numbers. Ali Vardi Khan was at the mercy of the invaders. He sent messengers to Bhaskar Pant offering to pay the ten lakhs; but the Mahratta general advanced his terms, and demanded a hundred lakhs, or a million sterling.

In sheer desperation, Ali Vardi Khan threw himself on the mercy of Mustafa Khan, implored his forgiveness, and promised full redress for all past grievances.

Afghans
appeased :
Mahrattas
blockade
Murshedabad.

Mustafa Khan was a creature of impulse; he was touched with compassion for his old master, and swore once more to stand or fall with Ali Vardi Khan. He placed himself at the head of the Afghans, cut through the cordon of Mahrattas, and fought his way to Murshedabad without carriage or provisions, whilst constantly harassed by the Mahratta horsemen. But on reaching Murshedabad the city was closely blockaded by the Mahrattas; whilst parties of horsemen scoured the country round about, and plundered and destroyed the neighbouring villages, and committed the most horrible cruelties and excesses.

Early in June the Mahrattas began to fear that their return to Nagpore would be cut off by the approaching rains. Accordingly they struck their tents and disappeared with their plunder. On the way, however, they changed their minds, and pitched their tents on the hills of Birbhûm until the violence of the rains was over, and then reappeared in Burdwan and renewed the work of plunder and desolation. It turned out that a revenue official named Mir Habib, whose defalcations had excited the wrath of Ali Vardi Khan, had escaped to the Mahratta camp, and persuaded Bhaskar Pant to remain in Bengal and take possession of the three provinces.

Mahratta devastations.

CHAP. X.

Agony of Bengal.

The return of the Mahrattas brought on a widely spread ruin. Markets and manufactures were deserted and the lands were left untilled. Weavers and husbandmen fled from the marauders with their wives and children, taking nothing with them but what they could carry in their hands. The whole population of Bengal to the westward of the Ganges, with the exception of Murshedabad, hurried over the river in shoals, never thinking themselves safe until they had reached the opposite shore.

Ali Vardi Khan takes the field.

All this while Ali Vardi Khan was preparing for a renewal of the struggle. He formed a camp in the neighbourhood of Murshedabad, and was joined by reinforcements from Patna as well as by new Afghan levies from the northwards. At the same time the Europeans in Bengal began to fortify their settlements against the Mahrattas.

Fruitless campaign.

The campaign began in October, but Ali Vardi Khan could not bring the Mahrattas to action. His troops were worn out by marching and countermarching, but effected nothing. Parties of Mahrattas were ravaging the provinces in all directions, but Ali Vardi Khan could not send out detachments to oppose them without weakening his main army.

Treacherous massacre of Mahratta officers.

At last Ali Vardi Khan tried treachery. Bhaskar Pant was cajoled into a conference. A large tent was set up, and assassins were hidden in the double lining. The Mahratta general and his principal officers were received with great pomp and ceremonial by Ali Vardi Khan. They took their seats cross-legged upon the carpets. A signal was given. The assassins rushed in upon the helpless guests and slaughtered them to a man.

Ali Vardi Khan waited until the head of Bhaskar

Pant was laid before him, and then went out and led his army against the Mahratta camp. But the enemy had already fled in a panic, and were soon wreaking their vengeance upon the unoffending inhabitants, ravaging the country with fire and sword, cutting off ears, noses, and hands, and committing countless barbarities in the search of spoil. After some months the fury of the Mahrattas was exhausted, and they retired to Nagpore.

CHAP. X.

Revenge and
retreat of the
Mahrattas.

Ali Vardi Khan had scarcely time to breathe, when he was again aroused by the horrible tidings of two more Mahratta invasions. On the eastern side a Mahratta army, estimated at sixty thousand horsemen, invaded Orissa under the command of Rughoji Bhonsla, Raja of Berar, to revenge the massacre of his officers. On the western side a second Mahratta army of the same strength invaded Behar, under the command of Balaji Rao, the Peishwa at Satara, to secure a share of the plunder of Bengal.

Invasion of the
Bhonsla and
Peishwa.

Ali Vardi Khan was powerless to resist such overwhelming hosts. But the Mahratta generals soon began to intrigue against each other. At first they agreed to an equal partition of chout and plunder; but each was jealous and suspicious of the other, and they soon quarrelled over the spoil. Ali Vardi Khan took advantage of their dissensions to conclude a separate treaty with the Peishwa, under which he was to pay chout to the Peishwa, and the Peishwa was to help him to drive out the Bhonsla.

Dissensions
between the
Mahratta
leaders.

It would be tedious and useless to dwell upon the perjuries and treacheries that followed. The Mahratta leaders were grasping and unscrupulous. Balaji Rao, however, was compelled to return to Satara in order to carry out his schemes for usurping the sovereignty

Final settlement
of chout, 1750.

CHAP. X.

of the Mahratta empire. Meanwhile the Mahrattas of Berar returned year after year to plunder and destroy. At last, in 1750, Ali Vardi Khan came to final terms with the Raja of Berar. He left the province of Orissa in the possession of the Raja, and pledged himself to pay a yearly chout or tribute of twelve lakhs of rupees for Bengal and Behar, or about a hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling.

Troubles with
the Afghans.

The anarchy attendant on the Mahratta invasions was aggravated by troubles with the Afghans. There was a growing jealousy between Haji Ahmad and Mustafa Khan. Haji Ahmad charged the Afghan commander with carrying on a secret correspondence with the Mahrattas. Mustafa Khan fled to Patna, but was pursued and slain, and his head was carried in derision through the streets of the city. His death was avenged by his Afghan soldiers. Haji Ahmad fell into their hands, and was scourged and insulted, and then tied to the foot of an elephant, and dragged through the streets of Patna, until death put an end to his agonies.

Death of Ali
Vardi Khan,
1756.

Ali Vardi Khan died in 1756. His last years were disturbed by family troubles, but Bengal was delivered from Mahratta invasions. The following description of the daily routine of the old Nawab in the palace at Murshedabad has been furnished by a Muhammadan historian who flourished at his court; and whilst it contrasts strangely enough with the stormy ambition which characterised his previous career, it serves to illustrate the domestic life of a respectable Muhammadan grandee of the olden time :—

Domestic life of
Ali Vardi Khan.

“The Nawab Ali Vardi Khan always rose two hours before daylight, said his prayers at daybreak, and then drank coffee with his chosen friends. From

seven o'clock till nine he sat in the hall of audience, where he listened to the representations of those of his officers and grandees who had anything to say. At nine o'clock he retired and amused himself with the company of particular friends, in listening to verses of poetry or pleasant stories, or in superintending the preparation of different dishes, which were cooked in his presence and under his directions. At ten o'clock he partook of the chief meal of the day, but always in company; and when it was over, his guests washed their hands and withdrew, and he retired to his couch and was lulled to sleep by the story-tellers. At one o'clock he awoke and drank a cup of water cooled with ice or saltpetre, and performed his mid-day prayers. He next read a chapter of the Koran with a loud voice, according to the rule, and performed his afternoon prayers. Pious and learned men were then introduced, and regaled with coffee and hookahs; and the Nawab drank coffee with them but never smoked. A Koran was set up, and conferences, readings, and explanations would occupy two hours. Next the chiefs of offices were in attendance, and amongst others the wealthy Jagat Seit made his appearance; and these men read or told him the news from all parts of India. Wits and buffoons followed, with whom he cracked jokes for another two hours. By this time it would be dusk, and the Nawab said his evening prayers. Then the audience hall was cleared of men, and the ladies of the family came to see him. A supper was served of fresh and dried fruits and sweetmeats, and the Nawab generally distributed them amongst the ladies with his own hands. After supper the ladies retired to rest, and the hall was opened to officers of the guard, bed-

CHAP. X. watchers, and story-tellers; and the Nawab again retired to his couch, and was lulled to sleep by stories. He generally awoke three or four times in the course of the night, but was always awake about two hours before dawn."¹¹

Such was the condition of Bengal, and of India generally, immediately before the rise of the British empire. The people were groaning under Oriental despotism, without security of life or property, but ignorant of anything better, and regarding their lot as the decree of the gods. So long as they were left in peace, and were not troubled by famine or pestilence, they were probably contented; but the invasions of Mahrattas and outbreaks of Afghans were the agony of India. In Bengal especially the people fled before the Mahrattas like sheep before wolves. They were too powerless and timid to resist, and abandoned their homes and fields to the destroyer, seeking only to hide themselves in the jungle with their panic-stricken wives and families, until the storm should have passed away.

¹¹ "Siyar-ul-Mutaqherin," by Gholam Husain Ali. Calcutta, 1786.

APPENDIX I.

THE SHÁH NÁMEH OF FIRDUSI.

THE Sháh NámeH of Firdusi is a famous Persian poem of interminable length. It was the outcome of the Persian revolt against the Arab conquest. It was written in the purest Persian, without any admixture of Arabic worth mentioning, although Arabic had long been regarded as the sacred language of the Koran. It purports to be a history of the ancient kings and heroes of Persia, but it is crowded with supernatural details of demigods, griffins, and nondescript monsters.

In bulk and character the Sháh NámeH bears some resemblance to the Sanskrit epics of the Mahá Bhárata and Rámáyana; but there is a marked difference in the subject-matter. Fabulous details are inserted in the Sanskrit epics for the purpose of glorifying the Bráhmans or enforcing the observance of Brahmanical laws or institutions. The fabulous details in the Sháh NámeH seem to have been inserted for no other object than to amuse Oriental readers, who never appear to be wearied with details of extravagant amours, miraculous weapons, and impossible battles.

There is one story told of the author of the Sháh NámeH which is somewhat significant. The poet Firdusi professed to be a Muhammadan and a Sunní. The poem is duly prefaced with a declaration of the Muhammadan faith, and the praises of the four Khalifs who succeeded the Prophet. The poem itself was written at the request of Mahmúd of Ghazní, who promised to pay a dirhem for every couplet. Firdusi finished the poem in sixty thousand couplets. He expected to be paid in gold dirhems, but was offered silver dirhems. He

refused to take the money, and returned to Persia, where he wrote a bitter satire against Mahmúd.

An examination of the poem seems to indicate that Mahmúd had reason to be angry with Firdusi. The *Sháh Náme* teems with legends of idolaters, and has little to say of Muhammad or the Koran. The legend of the conquest of Persia by Zohak the Arab reads like a covert satire on the conquest of Persia by the Arab Khalifs. Zohak is described as a polygamous and flesh-eating monster, just as a Muhammadan would have been described by a Parsi or Bráhmaṇ of bygone times.

It is possible that some of the legends in the *Sháh Náme* may be relics of authentic tradition. The wars between the old Persian kings and the Devas may refer to ancient antagonisms between the fire-worshippers of Persia and the worshippers of the Vedic deities. It is curious to note that in the *Sháh Náme* the Devas are located in the Elburz mountains and neighbourhood of the Caspian—the very region which the Vedic Aryans are supposed to have occupied before they migrated to the Punjab and Hindustan.

Some of the details in the *Sháh Náme* respecting the earliest kings of Persia may perhaps be accepted as allegorical representations of the origin of civilisation and religion. Kaiumárs, the first king, introduced the use of clothing among the human race. Husheng, his successor, produced fire from a stone for the first time. He called it the light of the Divinity, and introduced the worship of fire. He taught the art of forging metals, irrigating lands, baking bread, and cooking in general. Both kings carried on wars against the Devas. Tahumars, the third king, conquered the Devas; he spared their lives on the condition that they taught him to read and write. Jemshíd, the fourth king, invented arms, armour, and silk garments. He compelled the Devas to build him a palace; he also obliged them to construct a throne of jewels, which could be carried by enchantment through the air.

It is certainly suggestive that the *Sháh Náme* should represent the old Persian kings as deriving their civilisation from

the Devas. It is well known that the Vedic Aryans, who represent the Devas, were distinguished by their literature from a very remote period; they indulged in a taste for architecture and jewellery, and were currently believed to be practised in the arts of magic and enchantment, like the Bráhmans of later times.

A great part of the Sháh NámeH is occupied with amours, which appear to gratify Orientals, but have few attractions for European readers. A beautiful princess on a balcony falls in love with a hero whose hair is white as silver. She unloosens her own long tresses to enable him to climb up and join her. The details of their passion are told in innumerable couplets. At last the lady gave birth to the hero Rustam, a huge child that drank the milk of ten cows. When Rustam was born he was as big as a child a twelve-month old; when he was three years of age he rode on horseback; when he was five, he consumed as much food as a full-grown man. Such details may be interesting to Oriental readers, but for purposes of history it is needless to dwell further on the legends of the Sháh NámeH.

APPENDIX II.

HINDÚ ANNALS COMPILED FROM THE MACKENZIE MANUSCRIPTS.

I. EARLY CONFLICTS BETWEEN JAINS AND BRÁHMANS.

War of Mahá Bhárata ; migrations to the eastward.—Advent of Vikramaditya at Ujain, 56 B.C.—Advent of Saliváháná, born of a virgin, 77 A.D.—Growing power of the Jain Princes of the Dekhan.—Jain Princes at Kalyán in the Dekhan and Kanchipúram in the Peninsula.—Advent of Sankara Achárya as an incarnation of Siva.—Advent of Basava Isvara to teach the worship of the Linga.—Advent of Rámánuja Achárya as an incarnation of Vishnu.—Reign of Raja Bhoja in the Ghond country ; a patron of letters.—Death of Kálidása the poet.

II. BELÁL EMPIRE OF KARNATA.

Foundation of the Belál empire of Kárnata.

I. Hayasala Belál Rai, 984–1043—Founds the city of Dhúr-samundar—Supports both Bráhmans and Jains.

II. Vináditya Belál Rai, 1043–1073—Clears the jungle.

III. Yareyánga Belál Rai, 1073–1113—Prevalence of Jains.

IV. Bala Deva Rai, 1113–1164—Mussulman conquest—Rámánuja Achárya converts the Raja to the Vaishnava religion.

V. Vijaya Narasinha Belál, 1165–1187—Vaishnava religion flourishes.

VI. Vira Belál Rai, 1188–1232—He marries the daughter of the Sultan of Delhi.

VII. Vira Narasinha Belál, 1233–1248.

VIII. Saya Belál Rai, 1249–1267.

IX. Vira Narasinha Deva, 1267–1308.

X. Belál Rai, 1308–1355—Mussulman conquest of Karnata.

III. THE TELINGA COUNTRY.

Reign of Pratápa Rudra in Telinga—Carried prisoner to Delhi—Laxity of the Bráhmans—Reformation and reorganisation of the Bráhmans—Marriage of a Bráhman's daughter to a youth of the Goldsmith caste.

IV. EMPIRE OF VIJAYANAGAR.

Foundation of the empire of Vijayanagar—Reign of Krishna Deva Rai ; his power and splendour—Settlement of Bráhmans from Telinga and Orissa—Death of Krishna Rai—Reign of Rám Rai—Distribution of the empire by Krishna Rai—Disturbances in Madura—Violent proceedings of Visvanáth Naik—Visvanáth Naik makes his peace with Krishna Rai—Grand inauguration of Visvanáth as Naik of Madura.

V. NAIKS OF MADURA.

I. Visvanáth Naik, 1560-1564—Grand reception and enthronement at Madura—Coronation of Visvanáth Naik—Greatness of Visvanáth Naik—Combat with the Pándava Rajas.

II. Kumára Krishnappa Naik, 1564-1572—His suspicious death.

III. Virappa Naik, 1572-1595.

IV. Krishnappa Naik, 1595-1604.

V. Mutta Virappa Naik, 1604-1626—Expulsion of the Kallans from the road to Ramíswaram—Quarrel with Tanjore.

VI. Tirumala Naik, 1626-1662—Coronation ceremonies—Settlement with Tanjore—Marriage of Tirumala Naik with the Tanjore Princess—Wedding ceremonies—Night procession and illuminations—Death of Arya Náyaga Muthali—Army and finances of Madura—Tirumala Naik marries his three cousins—Punishes the Séthupati of Rámnád—Offends the goddess Mínákshi by his numerous marriages—Builds a new palace, mantanpam, tank, and agriharam—Character and death of Tirumala Naik.

VII. Mutta Virappa Naik, 1662.

VIII. Choka Nátha Naik, 1662-1685—War with Tanjore and Mysore—Oriental device for insuring victory—Recovery of Madura—Removal from Madura to Trichinopoly—Marriage of Choka Nátha Naik.

IX. Ranga Krishna Mutta Virappa Naik, 1685-1692—Regency of his mother, Mangamál.

X. Vijaya Ranga Choka Nátha Naik, 1693-1734—Regency of Mangamál—Temporary conquest of Trichinopoly by the Mussulmans—Mangamál's amour and death—Expedition against Malabar.

XI. Mínákshi Ammál, the Queen-Dowager, 1734-1742.

I. EARLY CONFLICTS BETWEEN JAINS AND BRÁHMANS.

War of Mahá Bhárata : Migrations to the Eastward.—After the war of the Mahá Bhárata, the southern countries became overgrown with thick jungle, for all the princes of Karnata had perished in the war. Meantime Raja Yudhishtira died, and was succeeded by a line of Rajas of Hastinápura, of whom nothing is known.¹ At length a Raja named Narain Rudra reigned some time at Delhi, but was attacked by foreign invaders, and he was compelled to abandon his dominions and migrate to the eastern coast of India. He built the city of Rajahmundry on the river Godavari, cleared away the jungle, destroyed all the wild animals, founded a number of towns, and by degrees collected a great army. He reigned over all the eastern coast for sixty years.

Advent of Vikramaditya at Ujain, 56 B.C.—In course of time the race of Pandu became extinct. The celebrated monarch Vikramaditya was born at Benares. Both his father and mother belonged to the Bráhma caste. He was a sovereign of incomparable merit; he possessed great courage, strength, and wit; he read much, and his memory was so prodigious that he never forgot anything. He applied himself much to astronomy, history, and the liberal arts. All his excellent qualities were crowned by solid virtue. For some time he was engaged in worship and prayer to the goddess Kalí at Ujain; and at last he made a sacrifice, and offered his own head to the goddess. In return the goddess appeared to him, and promised that he should rule the whole world for a thousand years, but that at last he would be slain by a child born of a virgin. Vikramaditya told his younger brother, Bali, what had happened, and the two agreed together to reign half a year each in turns, whilst the other

¹ Parikshit, the grandson of Arjuna and Janamejaya, who is famous for his sacrifice of snakes, belonged to this mythical line of ancient Rajas. Nearly every native Raja traces up his ancestry either to one of the heroes of the Mahá Bhárata who belong to the Lunar line, or to one of the heroes of the Rámáyana who belong to the Solar line.

spent the interval in travelling. By this arrangement they stretched out the thousand years to two thousand.² Vikramaditya performed many great and wonderful deeds in this world. He was the favourite of Indra, and was invited by that deity to ascend to heaven in order to settle a dispute between two celestial nymphs, named Urvasí and Rambhá. For his services on this occasion Indra gave him a golden throne, with thirty-two golden figures thereon, which was afterwards set up in the city at Ujain.

Advent of Saliváháná, born of a Virgin, 77 A.D.—Towards the end of his reign, Vikramaditya sent messengers to all parts of his dominions to inquire whether any child had been born of a virgin. They brought back the tidings that the daughter of a potmaker had been visited by the king of snakes or nágas whilst she was still an infant lying in a cradle; that she had subsequently given birth to a male child, named Saliváháná;³ that this child had now reached its fifth year; and that it was accustomed to play with some clay figures of elephants and soldiers, which his grandfather had made for him. Thereupon, Vikramaditya marched an army against the child. The king of the snakes, however, protected his son; he inspired the clay figures with life. Vikramaditya was defeated and slain by Saliváháná, and his head was thrown into the city of Ujain. Saliváháná afterwards acquired a knowledge of the sixty-four arts, and in the end retired to the jungle to lead a life of religious austerities.⁴

² Herodotus relates a somewhat similar story of Mycerinus, the king of Egypt who built the third pyramid. The oracle at Buto informed Mycerinus that he only had six years to live. Accordingly he turned night into day by nightly illuminations, and enjoyed himself day and night in banquets and travel to pleasant places. He did so in order to prove the oracle false, by living twelve years in the space of six. Herod. ii. 133.

³ Another wild legend is told of the birth of Saliváháná. A Bráhma astrologer had calculated a happy moment for begetting a child. When the hour approached, he was prevented from returning home to his wife in consequence of the rising of a river. A potter saw his grief, and heard the cause; and then caused his own daughter to sleep with the Bráhma. The damsel afterwards gave birth to Saliváháná. Mackenzie MSS.

⁴ The legend of the birth of Saliváháná and his war against Vikramaditya presents a distorted resemblance to events in Gospel histories. Speculation,

Growing Power of the Jain Princes of the Dekhan.—After this the Jain princes held dominion in both the eastern and western provinces. They reigned with much charity, and excelled each other in good works. They made great progress in all the arts and sciences. They sought to destroy the caste of the Bráhmans, and to convert them to their own religion.

Jain Princes at Kalyán in the Dekhan and Kanchipúram in the Peninsula.—About this time Vijala Raja and other Rajas of the Jain religion reigned at Kalyán in the Dekhan and at Kanchipúram in the Peninsula.⁵ They also held other chief places in the southern countries. These Jain Rajas continually blasphemed the gods of other sects, and fomented constant quarrels and controversies between the Jain priests and the Bráhmans. They endeavoured to root out the Brahmanical religion, and substitute their own deceitful laws and customs.

Advent of Sankara Achárya as an Incarnation of Siva.—Accordingly the god Siva became incarnate in the divine Sankara Achárya of the Bráhman caste, in order to abolish this blasphemous sect, and reform all the Bráhman maths or monasteries. He divided the Bráhmans into six great classes; he abolished all the improper customs and irregularities that had been introduced by ignorant Bráhmans; and he became the supreme head of all the Bráhmans.

Advent of Basava Iswara to teach the Worship of the Linga.—Also Nandi, the sacred bull of Siva, became incarnate in Basava Iswara of the Bráhman caste, to teach the worship of

however, could lead to no result. The defeat of Vikramaditya probably points to a historical fact. Ferishta says that Vikramaditya was defeated by a confederacy of the princes of the Dekhan. It is not impossible that the myth covers the story of a momentous struggle between the Nága princes of the Dekhan and the Aryan invaders who had advanced southwards to Ujain, in which the former gained the victory. But, as stated at the end of chapter viii. in the foregoing history, the story also appears to symbolise a religious collision between Buddhists or Jains and Bráhmans.

⁵ Kalyán is now a railway station to the eastward of Bombay. Kanchipúram, the modern Conjeveram, is about forty miles to the westward of the city of Madras.

the Linga, as the symbol of the divine being. Basava Iswara performed many miracles; and when Vijala Raja saw them, he made peace with Basava Iswara, and appointed him to be prime minister at Kalyán. Then Basava Iswara carried on many disputations with the Jain teachers, and overcame them by his reasoning. But after this Vijala Raja became exasperated with Basava Iswara, and put many of the worshippers of the Linga to death.⁶ Basava then went his way out of Kalyán, and pronounced a curse upon the city, and it was destroyed by fire. Then two worshippers of the Linga planned the death of Vijala Raja, and the empire became broken to pieces by internal wars.

Advent of Ramanuja Achárya as an Incarnation of Vishnu.

—Vishnu, the preserver of the world, then became incarnate as Ramanuja Achárya in Kanchipuram, in order to extirpate the Jains from the southern provinces. Ramanuja Achárya combated the Jains of Sravana Bella Kullum in Mysore, of Kanchipuram in the Chola country, and of all the cities of the south. He held many disputations with them, and silenced all opponents, and caused many of them to be put to death by the Rajas of those countries.

Reign of Raja Bhoja in the Ghond Country: a Patron of Letters.—After this Raja Bhoja was born at Devagiri in the Ghond country.⁷ He ruled the southern regions of the Ghond country for fifty years; he was very charitable, and a great patron of the poets and other authors. He punished all the foreign kings of Hindustan, and brought them under his

⁶ There is a tradition that Basava had a very beautiful sister; that Vijala Raja became enamoured of her; and that Basava connived at the amour in order to convert the Raja from the Jain religion. This story, though strange, is not incredible. The conversion of the Raja of Kalyán would be worth the sacrifice of a sister even in the eyes of a Bráhmán. The Jain Raja must have been very much enamoured or he would never have made Basava his prime minister. Possibly he afterwards grew weary of the sister, and then turned against the Bráhmans.

⁷ Devagiri, the modern Deoghur and Doulatábád, is here mentioned as a capital, not of Maharashtra, but of the Ghond country. The statement would imply that the Mahrattas were later invaders, driving the Ghonds farther and farther out of the fertile tableland of the Dekhan into the eastern jungle.

dominion. To those poets who composed the best stanzas in his honour he gave as much as a lakh of pagodas for each verse.⁸

Death of Kálidása the Poet.—Raja Bhoja died of grief for the loss of his favourite poet, Kálidása. The poet had taken offence, and had fled from the court of Devagiri. Accordingly Raja Bhoja tried to bring him back by artifice. He composed half a stanza, and offered his kingdom to any one who completed it, hoping thereby to draw Kálidása from his hiding-place. The poet had a treacherous mistress, and she prevailed upon him to complete it, in order to work his destruction. The original half-stanza ran thus:—"Where was a flower ever seen to grow out of a different flower?" The poet finished it by a reference to her eyes. He responded: "Nowhere, O nymph, excepting in your lilylike countenance, where the two flowers of Indra are sportively playing."⁹ In the night the damsel stabbed her lover to the heart. Next morning she carried the completed stanza to the Raja, foolishly applying it to his own masculine face. The Raja then guessed the truth, and charged her with the murder, and banished her from his kingdom of Kalyán.¹⁰ Seven days afterwards he died of grief for the loss of Kálidása.¹¹

⁸ This is a startling exaggeration. A lakh of pagodas is equal to about thirty-five thousand pounds sterling. Probably it would be safer to read one pagoda for each verse.

⁹ The eyes of the damsel are compared to the two flowers of Indra, growing out of her lily countenance. The conceit is fantastic and laboured, but it is considered a matchless stroke of genius by Hindús, and shows that the Vedic religion prevailed or was remembered at court.

¹⁰ It will be noticed that the Raja did not order the murderess to execution. Indeed it was contrary to ancient law and usage to put a woman to death under any circumstances.

¹¹ The climax shows that the whole story is a fiction. Bhoja is generally identified with Vikramaditya, who was fabled to have reigned for a thousand years. The fiction was probably invented to cover the shame of the defeat of Vikramaditya.

II. BELÁL EMPIRE OF KARNATA.

Foundation of the Belál Empire of Karnata.—The Belál kingdom of Karnata, or Kanarese-speaking people, was founded in the tenth century of the Christian era. A valiant warrior, named Hayasala, was a follower of the Jain religion, and had gone into the Karnata country, in the western half of the peninsula, to perform his devotions with a Jain priest. It happened that a royal tiger was infesting the neighbourhood, and the inhabitants implored the protection of Hayasala. Accordingly he went out and slew the tiger, and the people then made him king of all that country, and paid him a yearly tax. Hayasala was known as the Belál Rai. His kingdom corresponded generally to the modern territory of Mysore. He founded the dynasty of the Belál Rais or Rajas. Their history is as follows:—

I. *Hayasala Belál Rai, 984–1043: City of Dhúr-samundar Founded.*—He conquered all the countries to the south of the river Krishna. He followed the religion of the Jains. He built the metropolis of Dhúr-samundar, and peopled it with merchants, artisans, mechanics, and citizens of all classes, and established all the officers of government. He cleared out forests, built villages, and peopled them with divers Rajas.

Supports Bráhmans and Jains.—Hayasala Rai was desirous of encouraging the Bráhmans in the centre of his kingdom, where they were few in number, and he appointed them to be Karnams, or revenue accountants, in the several districts. He appointed some to be priests in Bráhman villages. He especially encouraged the Jains by employing them at his court, and appointing some of them to be commanders in his armies. He divided his kingdom into Nádu, or groups of villages. He made the perquisites of the different officers hereditary in their respective families.

II. *Vináditya Belál Rai, 1043–1073: Clears the Jungle.*—He cleared the country at the junction of the Bhadra and

Toonga rivers, which in those days was covered with teak wood; and there he built a city. He also cleared other jungles and founded villages.

III. *Vareyānga Belāl Rai, 1073–1113: Prevalence of Jains.*—Under his reign the Jain religion prevailed more than ever. He erected a number of Jain temples and agraharams, *i.e.*, separate streets or quarters for the Brāhmans.

IV. *Bala Deva Rai, 1113–1164: Mussulman Conquest.*—During his reign the Mussulmans from Delhi entered the Belāl kingdom and fought against the Rai for three months. At last the Rai was captured by treachery, and carried away to the Krishna river. Here he agreed to pay a ransom to the Delhi Mussulmans; and they mutilated his little finger to show that he had been captured in battle, and then released him. He returned home in great shame, and remained quietly in his kingdom.

Rāmānuja Achārya converts the Raja to the Vaishnava Religion.—After this Rāmānuja Achārya, the apostle of the Vaishnavas, who had fled from the Chola kingdom on account of the religious persecutions, came into the Karnata country, and resolved to convert the Raja to the religion of the Vaishnavas, and he prevailed on the concubine of the Raja to help him. It was the law amongst the Jains never to eat in the house of a man who had been mutilated. Accordingly the girl persuaded the Raja to invite his Jain Guru to take his dinner in the royal palace. She said, “If the Guru will accept your invitation, I will join your religion; if he will not come, you must join my religion.” The Guru refused to break the laws of the Jain priesthood, and the Raja became a Vaishnava and a follower of Rāmānuja Achārya. After this Rāmānuja Achārya delivered the daughter of the Raja from a Rākshasa, *i.e.*, he cast a devil out of her. Afterwards Rāmānuja Achārya changed the name of the Raja from Belāl Deva Rai to Vishnu Verdhana Rai, or “The increaser of the Vaishnava religion.” He also miraculously healed the Raja’s mutilated finger, so that in a moment it grew as perfect as

ever. After this he induced the Rai to destroy Jain temples, and to build Vishnu temples instead.¹²

V. *Vijaya Narasinha Beldl*, 1165–1187: *Vaishnava Religion flourishes*.—He encouraged the Vaishnava religion and oppressed the Jains more than his father had done. He made a pilgrimage to all the holy places. On his return to his own city, the god, *i.e.*, Vishnu, appeared to him in a dream on the banks of the river Bhadra, and accordingly he built a city and temple at Bankipur.

VI. *Vira Beldl Rai*, 1188–1232: *Marries the Daughter of the Sultan of Delhi*.—He was born of the eldest queen of Vijaya Narasinha. He built tanks and other works of charity, and he constructed the stone steps at the junction of the Toonga and Bhadra for the religious people who went to bathe there. The daughter of the Pádisháh or Sultan of Delhi heard that Vira Belál Rai was very handsome, and so fell in love with the fame of his beauty,¹³ and threatened to kill herself unless her father gave her to the Raja in marriage. At last the Sultan consented, and sent messengers to inform the Raja. In return the Raja sent his sword by the hands of a minister to be married to the princess according to the law. So the Sultan married his daughter to the Raja's sword, and sent her to the Raja, and she became his wife. After this the Raja was displeased with the princess, and the Sultan sent an army against him and defeated him. So the Raja went into a cavern and never returned. Then

¹² Rámánuja Achárya is said to have instigated the Rajas to carry on a horrible persecution against the Jains. Colonel Mackenzie adds a note to the manuscript to the effect that the people of Conjereram complained that their ancestors, who were Jains, had been cruelly persecuted. Some were beheaded, others were impaled, or beaten to death in mortars.

¹³ Falling in love with hearsay beauty is a Brahmanical form of expression to cover the shame of an amour. Thus the beautiful Damayanti is said to have fallen in love with Nala on hearing that he was very handsome. The idea of having seen him, or of having been seen by him, was abhorrent to Brahmanical ideas.

the Sultan's daughter followed him, and a tomb was built over the place to her memory.¹⁴

VII. *Vira Narasinha Belál*, 1233–1248.—He was the son of Vira Belál by the Sultan's daughter. Nothing is recorded of him.

VIII. *Saya Belál Rai*, 1249–1267.—Nothing recorded.

IX. *Vira Narasinha Deva*, 1267–1308.—Nothing recorded.

X. *Belál Rai*, 1308–1355: *Mussulman Conquest of Karnata*.—He was a very handsome prince, and his father gave him two wives to prevent his going after other women. His sister was married and had two sons. During his absence on a hunting expedition his youngest wife tried to seduce his eldest nephew, but did not succeed. On the Raja's return she exasperated him against both his nephews, and he ordered them both to be hanged. Then the mother of the young men came out and pronounced a curse upon the Raja and upon his city of Dhúr-samundar, and then put herself to death.

This Belál Rai was overthrown by the Mussulmans.

III. THE TELINGA COUNTRY.

Reign of Pratápa Rudra in Telinga.—Raja Pratápa Rudra was born in the city of Warangal, the capital of Telinga, by the favour of the god Siva. He reigned over Telinga, or the Telugu-speaking people to the eastward, for seventy-six years. His minister was named Yuganda Rudra, and was so wise that he could create or destroy a world at will.

Carried Prisoner to Delhi.—About this time the minister,

¹⁴ There is another version of this strange legend. It is said that the Raja deserted his wife because he thought that the marriage was unlawful. It is also said that it was not the daughter, but the Pádisháh or Sultan, who perished in the cavern, and that the tomb was known as the Pádisháh's tomb.

Yuganda Rudra, foresaw that Warangal was about to be attacked by the Mussulman Sultan of Delhi. Accordingly he escaped into foreign countries in order that he might thereafter be able to deliver Raja Pratápa Rudra. Meantime the Sultan of Delhi marched an army against Warangal and took it, and he carried the Raja captive to Delhi. Then Yuganda Rudra loaded some ships with jewels, and disguised himself as a merchant, and went away with them up the river Jumna as far as the city of Delhi. When he had anchored his ships at Delhi, the Sultan heard of his coming, and offered to buy the jewels. The disguised minister, however, priced them at a hundred times their value, but offered to accept the valuation of Pratápa Rudra. Accordingly the Sultan went on board one of the ships, and took Pratápa Rudra with him, on which the minister weighed anchor and went down the river Jumna, and in due course arrived at Warangal with the Sultan and the Raja. The Sultan was then placed in prison at Warangal, but after a while was released and sent back to Delhi.

Laxity of the Bráhmans.—One day whilst the Raja of Telinga and his minister were discoursing in an upper chamber, they saw the daughter of the minister returning with her friends from the burning ghát, bringing with them the impure things that are distributed at funeral ceremonies.¹⁵ Accordingly the Raja asked the minister how he could permit his daughter to carry about such impure things. The minister was much ashamed, and said that such a thing should never occur again.¹⁶

¹⁵ The minister was probably a Bráhman.

¹⁶ There is more in this tradition than meets the eye. It was doubtless a custom amongst the Kshatriyas, as it was amongst the ancient Greeks, for the maidens to offer wine and cakes to the ghosts of deceased kinsmen. It was also the custom for the Buddhists to bring away relics from the burning ghát, as was customary amongst the Sákyas. The Bráhmans tried to eradicate the Buddhist usages. Moreover, they never allowed their unmarried damsels to be seen in public. The compiler of the chronicle, however, artfully places the complaint in the mouth of the Raja, who was apparently a Kshatriya, rather than in the mouth of the minister, who was apparently a Bráhman.

Reformation and Reorganisation of the Bráhmans.—The minister, Yuganda Rudra, then collected together all the Bráhmans of the Telinga country, to the number of six thousand families, and exhorted them to refrain from such sordid actions, which were contrary to their caste.¹⁷ He provided for their maintenance by appointing them Karnams, or revenue accountants, to different villages, which enabled them to draw yearly allowances from the villagers. The minister then laid down the law for all the Bráhmans, that they should not humble themselves before mean people, nor engage in mean pursuits, nor employ themselves in any way, excepting as writers, interpreters, or traders. He moreover ordered that all Bráhmans should see that their children were properly educated and suitably employed; and should give their daughters in marriage only to Bráhmans of superior rank. He then dismissed them with gifts to the different villages to take up their posts as Karnams.

Marriage of a Bráhman's Daughter to a Youth of the Goldsmith Caste.—A subsequent incident led to the promulgation of further reforms amongst the Bráhmans. A Bráhman poet of the Telinga country had a beautiful daughter. One day a boy of the caste of Goldsmiths came from a distant place, and passed himself off as a Bráhman orphan, destitute of means, without friends or kindred, and anxious to learn the Vedas and Sástras. Accordingly the Bráhman had compassion on him, took him into his house, instructed him in all the sacred writings; and finding him very industrious and intelligent, he gave him his daughter in marriage. Ten years passed away, when the stranger was suddenly recognised by a kinsman, who told who he was, and said that his parents were both alive, and had long been anxious about him. The Bráhman was horror-stricken. He made known the story to his daughter, and said, "What must be done to a pitcher that a dog has licked?" She replied, "The pitcher must be

¹⁷ It may be inferred from this expression, and from what follows, that the Bráhmans had been previously paid for collecting relics from the burning ghát.

purified by fire." That same night she set fire to her house, and perished together with her husband. After this the minister divided the Bráhmans into four classes, according to their respective countries, and this division exists to this day.¹⁸

IV. EMPIRE OF VIJAYANAGAR.

Foundation of the Empire of Vijayanagar.—After this a new race of sovereigns reigned over the southern country. A poor Bráhmaṇ came from a foreign country to the Tum-badra river, and prayed to the goddess of abundance and prosperity, *i.e.*, Lakshmi, the wife of Vishnu. In return the goddess rained down so much gold that he built the city and fort of Vijayanagar, and appointed Bukka Rai to reign over it. Five Rajas reigned in succession after Bukka Rai, namely, Iswara Rai, Narasinha Deva Rai, Vira Narasinha Deva Rai, Achyata Rai, and Krishna Deva Rai. Each reigned for a considerable length of time. Their sway was benevolent and mild, and each exceeded the other in good actions.

Reign of Krishna Deva Rai : his power and splendour.—Krishna Deva Rai, the last of these Rajas, was the greatest sovereign of his time, and the lord of many kingdoms. He was endowed with great courage, a ready wit, and a profound knowledge of the world. He had read much, and was remarkable for his prodigious memory. He successfully applied himself to such military exercises as archery, &c., as well as to the culture of philosophy and the liberal arts. In poetry he excelled the best authors of his time. He was also very handsome, and all his fine accomplishments were crowned by

¹⁸ This division of the Bráhmans of Telinga is curious. It was probably kept up in order that no low caste for the future should be able to personate a Bráhmaṇ. These four classes may take their meals together, but may not intermarry. This was another ingenious process for preventing the possibility of marriages outside the caste, by limiting the area within which marriages might take place.

his solid virtue. He patronised a great number of learned men and celebrated poets, and advanced them to the highest dignities. He loved the poor, and his valour made him terrible to his neighbours. This most excellent monarch had an excellent minister, named Tim Rai, who was prudent, wise, sagacious, and well versed in science. This famous king governed for about sixteen years, with the assistance of his minister Tim Rai, most graciously and with great beneficence. He subjected many Poligars, or feudal chiefs of the south, of different castes throughout the dominions of Karnata, and obliged them to clear the jungle and encourage the populations of their respective districts.

Settlement of Bráhmans from Telinga and Orissa.—In the time of Krishna Deva Rai great numbers of Bráhmans, of different districts and sects, came from beyond the Godavari river, and from the eastern provinces, to encourage the Poligars and populate their districts.

Distribution of the Empire by Krishna Rai.—Krishna Rai of Vijayanagar was the most excellent prince of his time. His empire extended from Ceylon to Thibet. He loved his subjects, and was beloved by them. He was reconciled to the Bráhmans, and accommodated his policy to their laws. Beneath his throne stood a concourse of Rajas with their hands joined together in the attitude of worship. He gave the government of Mysore to his chief favourite;¹⁹ that of Tanjore to his betel-bearer; and that of Madura to Nágama Naik, who was overseer of the royal cattle.

Death of Krishna Rai.—Krishna Deva Rai acquired an honourable and lasting reputation in this world, and died after a long and glorious reign.

Reign of Rám Rai.—Rám Rai, the son-in-law of Krishna Deva Rai, succeeded him on the throne of Vijayanagar. Rám Rai was a prince of very great merit. At the time of

¹⁹ In the text it is stated that he allotted the "tribute" of Mysore to his chief favourite, and this expression is repeated in Tanjore and Madura. But it is evident that the post was that of governor, and that the title was Naik or deputy.

Krishna Rai's death he was absent from Vijayanagar, and engaged in war against the Mussulmans. For a short time the kingdom of Vijayanagar was in some confusion on account of disturbances and wars with foreign princes. When Rám Rai heard of the death of Krishna Rai, he quickly put an end to the war, and returned to Vijayanagar and took possession of the throne. He governed the kingdom for some time with beneficence equal to that of his father-in-law. He was esteemed as a prince of great knowledge, who carried on wars with the Mussulmans, and vanquished them several times. At last he indiscreetly affronted their religion by killing a hog on the tomb of a Mussulman. This brought on a war, and Rám Rai was slain in battle and his head cut off.²⁰

V. NAIKS OF MADURA.

Disturbances in Madura.—About this time the affairs of Madura were falling into great disorder. The twelve kings of Malabar withheld their tribute from the Pándya Raja.²¹ His own servants rebelled against him, especially one Dumbriichi Naik, who lived out in the Tinnevelly country. The Pándya Raja was therefore unable to pay his own tribute to Nágama Naik, and Nágama Naik laid his complaint before his suzerain, Krishna Rai. Accordingly Krishna Rai sent

²⁰ This story is a striking specimen of the falsification of Hindu histories. The real facts have already been related in Chapter IV.

²¹ The early history of Madura is lost in fable. A dynasty known as the Pándya Rajas was said to have been founded by Arjuna, one of the five Pandavas, the heroes of the Mahá Bhárata. Arjuna, in fact, is said to have founded a dynasty at Madura, just as he had founded the Raj at Manipura, by marrying a daughter of the reigning Raja, and placing his son on the throne. See "History of India," vol. i., Mahá Bhárata.

According to the legends in the text, the Raja of Madura received tribute from the Rajas of Malabar, but was compelled to pay tribute to Nagama Naik, a favourite servant of Krishna Rai, a famous Raja of Vijayanagar. Then follows the story of how Visvanáth gained possession of the kingdom of Madura. Nágama Naik subsequently secured a leading share in the government of Madura.

Visvanáth Naik, the son of Nágama Naik, with a body of troops to restore order in the kingdom of Madura, and he also sent Arya Náyaga Muthali to accompany Visvanátha Naik.

Violent Proceedings of Visvanáth Naik.—Visvanáth Naik was received by Kún Pándya, the Raja of Madura, with every mark of joy. Visvanáth Naik turned his arms against the kings of Malabar, levied fines and presents, and forced them to pay up arrears of tribute. He defeated the rebels at Parama-kudi, and beheaded their chief Dumbrichi Naik in the presence of the Pándya Raja. But after this success he determined to usurp the throne. He quietly distributed his forces throughout the kingdom, and then on a certain day he seized all the fortresses that belonged to the Pándya Raja, and massacred all the garrisons. He placed the Pándya Raja in imprisonment, and loaded him with chains. He even imprisoned his own father, Nágama Naik. He then entered the palace at Madura, and slaughtered all the women of the zenana, and every man and child, so as to extinguish for ever the very name of the Pándya Rajas.

Visvanáth Naik makes his peace with Krishna Rai.—After this Visvanáth Naik set his father at liberty, and placed him in charge of the kingdom of Madura. He then set off for Vijayanagar to make his peace with Krishna Rai. He placed a head of gold at the feet of the Rai,²² together with heaps of money, by way of atonement and propitiation, and prostrated himself on the ground before the throne. Krishna then raised him up and embraced him with great affection, and made the Naik sit by his side, and declared him to be his partner in the empire.

Grand Inauguration of Visvanáth as Naik of Madura.—On the 1st of January 1560,²³ the rites of inauguration were duly performed. The holy waters of the Ganges and other rivers

²² This was the symbol of placing his own head at the mercy of his sovereign.

²³ “On Friday the tenth day of the bright fortnight, the twenty-first of Margalee, the year Boondree, the 1482nd year of Salwapa Epocha; that is

were poured over the head of Visvanáth Naik, according to the ancient custom at the coronation of Rajas. A diadem of massive gold was tied on his head. His ears were adorned with emeralds and pearls, his neck with costly carcanets, his breast with gems set in different figures, his fingers with amulets, his wrists with bracelets, his arms with amulets of carbuncles. He was arrayed in royal vestments of cloth and gold. He was placed on a throne of gold, which was fixed on an elephant richly caparisoned. An umbrella of silver brocade was held over his head, and the chowries were waved about him on either side.²⁴ He was also honoured with the royal insignia of Krishna Rai. A crimson shield was carried before him, together with standards bearing the bird Garura and the monkey Hanuman.²⁵ He was conducted in procession through the streets of Vijayanagar, escorted by troops, charioteers, and footmen, all clothed in rich apparel.²⁶ After the procession he was entertained by Krishna Rai in the

the 1st of January A.D. 1560, on which day ruled the constellation Asvatee, the conjunction Sobana, and the aspect Conlava."—*Mackenzie's note.*

These astrological details serve to identify all modern dates, but they are not always reliable, inasmuch as they may be sometimes introduced to give the air of reality to remote epochs. Thus it is easy to calculate the eclipses of the past as well as those of the future.

²⁴ The chowries are made of hair, and were waved about to fan the great man, and to sweep away any flies or mosquitoes. They are regarded throughout India as the insignia of royalty. The umbrella or canopy is also the emblem of royalty.

²⁵ Garura and Hanuman were symbols of the Vaishnava religion. The bird Garura was the fabulous vehicle on which Vishnu was supposed to ride. The monkey Hanuman plays an important part in the incarnation of Vishnu as Rama.

²⁶ It would be a waste of time to subject Hindú chronicles to historical criticism. Thus the whole story of the inauguration of Visvanáth in the city of Vijayanagar is in all probability a pure invention, intended to enhance the greatness of the old Naiks at Madura, and to cover the fact that Visvanáth was a mere vulgar usurper. It is impossible to imagine that a great and powerful sovereign like Krishna Rai of Vijayanagar (? Ram Rai) would confer such honours upon a refractory governor of a little territory like Madura. But for all that, the details are valuable. They are most likely in exact accordance with what took place on the enthronement of great Hindu sovereigns. They may not be true as matters of fact, but they are absolutely true as pictures of old Hindu life and manners.

banqueting-house, and feasted on milky food, and then loaded him with presents, and sent him to Madura to reign over all that country. So Visvanáth Naik, and his posterity after him, reigned over Madura for nine generations, namely, from the Christian year 1560 to that of 1742. The story of their reigns is as follows :—

I. *Visvanáth Naik, 1560–1564: Grand Reception and Enthronement at Madura.*—Visvanáth Naik marched from Vijayanagar to Madura, and was received by the Bráhmans and chief people with great joy. The streets were adorned with triumphal arches of divers colours, and decked out with green boughs and garlands of flowers. He entered the city riding on an elephant richly caparisoned, with all the badges of royalty which had been given to him by Krishna Rai. He approached the temple of the god Sundara Iswara²⁷ and the goddess Mínákshi-Ammál, and alighted from his elephant, and prostrated himself before the images of the god and goddess, and presented a vast number of gifts. He then went to the house of his father, Nágama Naik, and laid gold and silver flowers at his feet, and bowed his head to the ground. The happy father was filled with pride, and raised his son from the ground, and kissed his head and temples.

Coronation of Visvanáth Naik.—At night-time the god Sundara Iswara and the goddess Mínákshi were arrayed with the inestimable Joyee which had been made for them, and dedicated to them by the Pándya Rajas of Madura. Delicious oblations were also offered to these deities, and sweet-smelling flowers were poured over them. A diadem of virgin gold beset with jewels was placed upon the head of the goddess Mínákshi, and a sceptre of gold beset in like manner was placed in her hand. The court of the Pándya

²⁷ Sundara Iswara was the god Siva, who is known by various names, such as Mahadeva, Iswara, &c. In the Peninsula of India his worship is often associated with that of the Linga. Mínákshi-Ammál is a form of Durgá, also known by the names of Kali, Párvatí, &c.

The Saiva religion prevailed at Madura, whilst the Vaishnava religion prevailed at Vijayanagar.

Rajas, known as the court of Lakshmi, was decorated with tapestries and illuminated with lamps. Visvanáth Naik and his father Nágama Naik entered the temple and prostrated themselves before the goddess, and then stood before her with joined hands. The diadem was taken from the head of the goddess and placed on the head of Visvanáth Naik, and the sceptre was taken from her hand and placed in his hand in like manner. At that moment eighteen bands of music struck up and filled the air with harmonies. Visvanáth Naik then proceeded from the temple to the court of Lakshmi, whilst the heralds sounded his praises before him. He took his seat upon the ancient throne of the Pándya Rajas; he gave presents to the Bráhmans; he appointed Arya Náyaga Muthali to be both minister and commander-in-chief, and invested him with two rings as symbols of the two authorities; he also gave Arya Náyaga Muthali a square turban, a gold cloth, mantles of silk, earrings of pearl, bracelets of emerald, and Joyee of various forms. At the same time he permitted Arya Náyaga Muthali to place a spot of civet upon the centre of his forehead. Visvanáth Naik then placed certain of his followers in possession of the fortresses and lands of the Pándyas, and engaged them to pay him a yearly tribute. After this he distributed betel and areka-nut, and so dismissed the assembly.²⁸

Greatness of Visvanáth Naik.—Visvanáth Naik was the handsomest man of his time. He was endowed with supernatural strength, renowned throughout the world, very learned, and very attentive to the Bráhmans. He built choultries for the accommodation of pilgrims throughout the whole route from the holy city of Benares on the Ganges, to the holy places on the island of Rámíswaram, between Cape Comorin and Ceylon.²⁹ He built a palace for his own residence on the

²⁸ The distribution of betel and areka-nut is the Hindú ceremony of dismissal. It is practised to this day at the close of the state receptions of native princes by the Viceroy of India which are known as Durbars.

²⁹ Choultries, or resting-places for wayfarers, are an institution in India. They are erected by Rajas and wealthy Hindús at their own expense as acts

south side of the temple of Mínákshi. His wife gave birth to a son named Krishnappa Naik, who afterwards succeeded to the throne of Madura.

Combat with the Pándava Rajas.—About this time there were five princes dwelling in Tinnevely who were illegitimate kinsmen of the Pándya Rajas. They were known as the five Pándavas. They marched an army against Visvanáth Naik to avenge the death of the last of the Pándya Rajas. It was, however, agreed to settle the quarrel by single combat; and Visvanáth fought against one of the princes, and defeated and slew him. After this Visvanáth died upon the field of battle, and a monument was built to his memory.³⁰

II. *Kúmara Krishnappa Naik, 1564–1572: his suspicious death.*—The new Naik was only three years old when his father died, but he was carried in procession through the streets of Madura, and installed upon the throne with the usual ceremonies. His grandfather, Nágama Naik, and Arya Náyaga Muthali, the minister and commander-in-chief, acted as regents for the infant prince. As he grew up, he acted according to their advice, and followed the example set by his father; he maintained the rights of the Bráhmans and those of the temples; he married a wife and begot a son before he arrived at years of discretion.³¹ He made a journey with his guardians into the Tinnevely country, and was much pleased with the immense plains, covered with rich plots and fruitful orchards. He accordingly travelled farther into the southern country.

of charity. The statement that Visvanáth Naik built choultries at every halting-place between Benares and Rámíswaram is, of course, an exaggeration, and as such it is repeated of one or more of his successors.

³⁰ The Hindú chronicler was evidently in one of those dilemmas which are calculated to spur the invention of a Hindú historian. He was anxious to give the victory to Visvanáth Naik, whilst he could not conceal the unpleasant fact that Visvanáth Naik was slain in the conflict.

³¹ It will be seen hereafter that Kúmara Krishnappa reigned eight years and ten months. He was not quite twelve years of age when he died. At that time his son was two years of age. So that Krishnappa Naik is said to have become a father before he was ten years old. The reason for this preposterous lie will presently appear.

On his return he saw the place where his father died, and was so affected by the sad story that he killed himself on the spot. He reigned eight years and ten months. In memory of his death an agra-haram, or square of houses, was built and dedicated to the Bráhmans.³²

III. *Vírapa Naik*, 1572-1595.—The child of Kumára Krishnappa Naik was only two years of age, and consequently Nágama Naik and Arya Náyaga Muthali continued to act as regents. He reigned twenty-two years, but nothing is recorded concerning him.

IV. *Krishnappa Naik*, 1595-1604.—He reigned eight years and nine months. Nothing is recorded.

V. *Muttu Vírapa Naik*, 1604-1626: *Expulsion of the Kallans from the road to Rámíswaram*.—About this time the country to the eastward of Madura was in a disturbed state. The barbarous tribes of robbers known as the Kallans³³ infested the jungle, and robbed the pilgrims on their way to the holy places at Rámíswaram. Accordingly Vírapa Naik conferred the title of Séthupati, or "Lord of the causeway,"

³² This story is essentially native. Those who are familiar with Hindú character will have no difficulty in detecting the falsehood and indicating the real truth. That a young prince should commit suicide on hearing the story of his father's death, eight or nine years after the event, is a palpable lie. So is the statement that he was a father before he was ten years old. The real story would appear to be as follows :—Kumára Krishnappa Naik must have attained his majority. He was the father of a child two years old. He was becoming impatient of his guardians. Accordingly they took him away from the city of Madura, and put him to death. They afterwards built an agra-haram for the Bráhmans as an atonement for the murder. They thus continued to rule the kingdom as regents.

³³ The Kallans, or Kalars, are hereditary robbers of the barbarous type. Before the rise of British power their lives were savage and disorderly to the last degree. When men or women quarrelled, one party would commit some atrocious act, such as that of murdering their children, and the other was bound by inviolable custom to do the same. They always married blood relations. Cousins were preferred, and they were always married regardless of the wishes of the parties or any disparity of age. Failing their cousins, they married their aunts or nieces. See Nelson's "Manual of the Madura Country."

upon a Marawar, who drove out the Kallans and built a fort for the protection of the pilgrims.³⁴

Quarrel with Tanjore.—Meantime the people of Tanjore, to the northward of Madura, began to make trouble on the border, and Virappa Naik gave some lands to the Kallans on the condition that they fomented disturbances in the Tanjore country. Vijaya Ragananda, Naik of Tanjore, was anxious to give Trichinopoly to Virappa Naik in exchange for Vellam-kota, but nothing was done.

VI. *Tirumala Naik, 1626–1662: Coronation Ceremonies.*—Tirumala Naik, known as the great Naik of Madura, succeeded his father on the 9th of February 1626.³⁵ The ceremonies of his inauguration were performed according to the ancient custom. Holy waters from different rivers were poured over his head from vessels of gold by the officiating Bráhmans. He was conducted through the streets of Madura in a magnificent procession. He entered the temple of Mínákshi, and was invested with the diadem and sceptre in the presence of the goddess; and then mounted the golden throne under a rich canopy in the court of Lakshmi. There he listened to the strains of music, and beheld the performances of the dancing-girls until it was midnight; and he then distributed betel and areka-nut, and so dismissed the assembly.

Settlement with Tanjore.—Next morning Tirumala Naik sat upon his throne and held a public audience. He received the ambassador from Tanjore, and agreed to give Vallam-kota in exchange for Trichinopoly, provided Vijaya Ragananda,

³⁴ According to the Rámáyana, the hero Rámá founded the temple at Rámiswara, and placed a chief of the Marawars in hereditary charge, who, somehow, became hereditary ruler of Rámnád territory, but paid tribute to the Pándya Rajas of Madura. This office was apparently revived or strengthened by Virappa Naik.

³⁵ The reign of Tirumala Naik is valuable as a type of Hindú annals of celebrated Rajas of the olden time. He ascended the throne of Madura the year after the accession of Charles I. of England. He died two years after the restoration of Charles II. He is by far the most celebrated of all the Naiks of Madura.

Naik of Tanjore, agreed to give his sister Párvatí to him in marriage. Accordingly the exchange was made, and a fortunate day was fixed for the solemnisation of the marriage.

Marriage of Tirumala Naik with the Tanjore Princess.—Meanwhile vast quantities of rice and other articles were collected from all quarters of the kingdom. The city of Madura was adorned with arches, and decked out with garlands and banners. Vijaya Ragananda, Naik of Tanjore, accompanied by all his kinsmen, brought his sister Párvatí in a palanquin as far as Tellacolum; and Tirumala Naik and all his courtiers went out to Tellacolum, and conducted the Naik of Tanjore and his sister and all their followers into the city of Madura, where lodgings had been prepared for the Naik and all his people.

Wedding Ceremonies.—Next day the marriage rites were performed between the great Naik of Madura and the beautiful Princess of Tanjore. Tirumala Naik was arrayed in nuptial robes sparkling with jewels, and took his seat upon a rich carpet spread in the midst of a hall or pandal, which was made of cocoa-nut leaves, and ornamented with tapestries and pictures. Learned Bráhmans sat round about him, and kindled the sacred fire, and fed it with clarified butter and holy sticks. They chanted aloud the sacred mantras or incantations to the gods. Meanwhile the bride was dressed in rich attire, and brought in and placed by the side of the royal bridegroom. The Naik of Tanjore then placed the left hand of his sister into the right hand of the bridegroom, and tied the táli to her neck. Then the kettle-drums were sounded and the musical instruments began to play. The bridegroom and the bride walked round the sacred fire, and prostrated themselves before the holy flame and before the assembly of Bráhmans. The Bráhmans then bestowed their benedictions upon the newly married pair by throwing saffron-coloured rice upon the heads of the bridegroom and his bride. Betel and areka-nut were then distributed to all present, and a great feast was served up. Oblations were also offered to all the gods and goddesses throughout the kingdom.

Night Procession and Illuminations.—At night-time the royal bridegroom mounted his elephant, and the bride was placed in a golden palanquin, and the happy pair were carried in procession through all the streets of Madura. The whole city was illuminated with lamps and torches of different devices. Bonfires and fireworks blazed away in all directions, whilst the air was filled with the noise of drums and the sound of musical instruments. When the procession was over, the newly married pair entered the temple of Sundara-Iswara and Mínákshi-Ammál, and worshipped the god and goddess, and received holy ashes, flowers, and water. Tirumala Naik then sent his bride to the zenana, and proceeded to the court of Lakshmi, and loaded the Naik of Tanjore and all his followers with rich presents, and gave them leave to return to their own country. He then retired to the nuptial chamber.

Death of Arya Náyaga Muthali.—Three days after the marriage news arrived of the death of Arya Náyaga Muthali. Tirumala Naik was filled with grief, and ordered the funeral ceremony to be performed with great splendour. He then gave the ring of the minister to his favourite Vidiappa, and the ring of the commander-in-chief to his other favourite, Rámappaya.

Army and Finances of Madura.—The new minister and commander-in-chief took counsel together, and consulted the muster rolls, and found that the army of Tirumala Naik numbered four thousand horsemen and sixty thousand footmen under the command of seventy-two Poligars.³⁶ They placed the cavalry outside the fort, and posted the infantry on the seventy-two ramparts.³⁷ They also examined the district accounts, and found that the yearly revenue of the kingdom amounted to forty-four lakhs of chakrams.³⁸ They

³⁶ The seventy-two Poligars are mythical. There were seventy-two Poligars or vassal nobles under the great Rajas of Vijayanagar, and the Hindú chronicler transferred the same number of Poligars to Madura.

³⁷ Each rampart was said to be in charge of one Poligar, who had not only to defend it against an enemy, but to keep it in repair.

³⁸ A chakram was nearly two rupees. In round numbers the yearly revenue

allotted four lakhs for the Bráhmans and their temples; three lakhs for salaries of servants; one lakh for Tirumala Naik's daily charities; and they laid up the remaining thirty-four lakhs in the royal treasury.

Tirumala Naik Marries his three Cousins.—Tirumala Naik had two uncles on his mother's side, who had been much offended by his marriage with the Tanjore princess. One uncle had two daughters, and the other had one daughter; and they had been passed over for the sake of the Tanjore lady. So Tirumala Naik, in order to please his uncles, took their three daughters to be his wives, and the marriage ceremonies were performed in the same way as before.

Punishes the Séthupati of Rámnád.—After this it was told to Tirumala Naik that the Séthupati of Rámnád had grown proud and arrogant. Accordingly he sent his general Rámappaya to bring the Séthupati prisoner to Madura. Rámappaya then invaded Rámnád with a large army, but the Séthupati made his escape. Meanwhile the son-in-law of the Séthupati went away to the west, and bribed the western Poligars and people of Mysore to declare war against Tirumala Naik. Rámappaya then marched against the western countries, defeated the Poligars, and ravaged the Mysore territory, and compelled the Poligars to pay up twenty lakhs of pagodas, and to make numerous presents.³⁹ After the Séthupati took the field, he performed a sacrifice to the snake god, which afflicted Rámappaya with a painful swelling in the thigh; on which Rámappaya performed a sacrifice to the bird Garura, which killed the son-in-law of the Séthupati, and so afflicted

was eighty-eight lakhs of rupees, or between eight and nine hundred thousand pounds sterling. Hindús in general are such good accountants that the figures may be accepted. About one-tenth, or eighty thousand pounds, were allotted to the Bráhmans; sixty thousand pounds for servants' salaries; forty thousand pounds for the charity choultries and palace expenses; twenty thousand pounds for Tirumala Naik's daily charities; whilst six hundred and eighty thousands pounds, or three-fourths of the gross revenue, were treated as surplus and stored up in the treasury. Such an arrangement will account for the vast sums which were hoarded up in the royal treasuries and plundered by the Mussulmans.

³⁹ The amount of pagodas is probably an exaggeration. It is equivalent to six hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling.

the Séthupati that he fled away to the island of Rámíswaram. After this the Séthupati was taken prisoner, but forgiven by Tirumala Naik, and sent back to his own country. After this Rámappaya died of his disease.

Offends the Goddess Mínákshi by his numerous Marriages.—Meanwhile Tirumala Naik had listened to the tenth chapter of the Bhágavatam, which tells the story of the amours of Krishna, and he sought to enjoy the same pleasures as Krishna. So every day he married a beautiful damsel, and he did so for the space of a year, until he had three hundred and sixty wives besides the four queens. Now the court of Tirumala Naik was close by the temple of Mínákshi, and the goddess was so troubled by the noise of these daily nuptial festivities, the shouts of the heralds, the din of the drums, and the sound of the musical instruments, that she appeared to Tirumala Naik in a dream, and ordered him to remove his court to another place.

Builds a New Palace, Mantapam, Tank, and Agraharam.—Accordingly Tirumala Naik built a new palace; also a mantapam, or hall, with a roof supported by pillars; together with a tank for the use of the goddess. The palace, mantapam, and tank cost three lakhs of chakrams.⁴⁰ Tirumala Naik also engaged stone-cutters to carve figures of himself, his ancestors, his four queens, and some of his other wives, upon the pillars of the mantapam. He likewise built an agraharam, or quadrangle of houses for Bráhmans, round about the tank; and granted villages for the support of the agraharam.

Character and Death of Tirumala Naik.—Tirumala was adored as a god by all his subjects. He prided himself upon being a namesake of Vishnu. He was as truthful as Yudhishtira, as strong as Bhíma, as valiant as Arjuna, as handsome as Nakula, and as wise as Sahadeva.⁴¹ He never refused a boon, and no suppliant ever left his presence with

⁴⁰ About sixty thousand pounds sterling.

⁴¹ This comparison of Tirumala Naik with the five Pandavas, the heroes of the Mahá Bhárata, is genuine Hindú flattery. So indeed are the accounts of all the monarchs that follow.

a discontented countenance. His troops were well disciplined and hardened to war; his generals were brave and experienced. He was so fortunate that he gained as many victories as he fought battles. In this joyful manner he reigned thirty-six years, and then died.

VII. *Mutta Virappa Naik*, 1662.—The successor of Tirumala Naik reigned only four months, and then died of debauchery.

VIII. *Choka Nátha Naik*, 1662–1685: *War with Tanjore and Mysore: Trichinopoly*.—On the day that Choka Nátha Naik was proclaimed sovereign, he heard that the people of Tanjore were quarrelling with the people of Trichinopoly about a watercourse, and that Vijra Rangunanda, Naik of Tanjore, was claiming possession of Trichinopoly. Accordingly he marched an army to Trichinopoly, and invited the Poligars to join him, and strengthened the place to the utmost. He then sent an embassy to Tanjore, proposing that the Naik, who was very old, should give him his grand-daughter in marriage. But the Naik of Tanjore made a jest of the embassy, and dismissed it with scorn, because the mother of Choka Nátha Naik was of mean extraction, and not one of the queens. Choka Nátha Naik was greatly enraged at this insult, and assembled together all his forces, and marched against Tanjore; but he was utterly defeated by the grandson of the Tanjore Naik, and meantime a Mysore army took possession of the city of Madura.

Oriental Device for ensuring Victory.—The affairs of Choka Nátha Naik were now at a very low ebb. His army still remained in camp, but he despaired of obtaining any success. At this juncture he happened to see a courtesan of the camp who was very tall and stout, and he ordered a hundred women of the same stamp to be collected together, and placed them under her command, and gave them monthly wages. Then Choka Nátha Naik went out and fought against the enemy, and posted these women in his rear, so that when his soldiers began to retreat, the women cried out

and mocked them, and told them to hide under their petticoats. Then the soldiers were filled with shame, and turned back and fought so furiously that they gained the victory. They then entered the city of Tanjore, and set the palace on fire and burnt it to the ground, together with all the wives, daughters, and granddaughters of the Naik. The old Naik escaped, together with his son, but both were taken prisoners and beheaded.⁴²

Recovery of Madura : Removal from Madura to Trichinopoly.—After this Choka Nátha Naik laid siege to Madura, and shut up the Mysore troops for four months, so that at last they were obliged to feed on monkeys and asses. At last the city was surrendered to Choka Nátha Naik, and the Mysore army were permitted to return to their own country. Choka Nátha Naik thus recovered possession of Madura, but one night he saw a cobra rearing its hood erect upon his bed-clothes. So the Naik departed out of the city of Madura, and fixed his capital in the city of Trichinopoly.

Marriage of Choka Nátha Naik.—After this Choka Nátha Naik married a damsel of angelic beauty named Mangamál, on the condition that any son she might bear him should succeed to the throne of Madura. He married also four damsels of his own kin. He breathed his last after a reign of twenty-three years and two months.

IX. *Ranga Krishna Muttu Virappa Naik, 1685–1693 : Regency of his Mother, Mangamál.*—The young prince ascended the throne of Madura at the age of sixteen, and his

⁴² Mr. Nelson, in his "Manual to Madura," relates another version of this story which is more Rajpút in character. When the army of Madura had stormed the city of Tanjore, a demand was again made for the hand of his granddaughter. The old Naik, however, sturdily refused. He was now resolved to die in Rajpút fashion. He collected all his wives, concubines, children, slave-girls, and valuables in one room, and placed pots of gunpowder round the walls. He armed the ladies with swords, but directed them to fire the powder when the signal was given. He then arrayed for battle, but after consulting with his son he saw that escape was impossible. The signal was given; the explosion did its work of slaughter; the old Naik, with his son and devoted servants, charged the enemy, but were overpowered, captured, and beheaded, and their heads laid before Choka Nátha Naik of Madura.

mother, Mangamál, acted as regent.⁴³ He was a celebrated horseman. He had such a memory that he could repeat all the Bhágavatam by heart. He had a great respect for the Bráhmans and their temples. He often went to foreign courts in disguise, and left his ring behind to show that he had been there. During his reign the Sultan of Delhi sent his slipper to all the Rajas of the south, in order that they might do homage to the slipper; but the Naik of Madura put the slipper on his foot and then asked for its fellow.⁴⁴ He died after a reign of eight years.

X. *Vijaya Ranga Choka Nátha Naik, 1693–1734: Regency of Mangamál.*—The new Naik was not born until after the death of his father. Meantime his grandmother, Mangamál, acted as regent. Mangamál was filled with joy at the birth of the infant, and showered gold and silver upon the Bráhmans. She held the infant in her lap, and extended the sceptre of authority over all her dominions.

Character of Mangamál.—The queen-regent was a woman of undaunted spirit, and of infinite justness and sweetness. She built many agraharams for the Bráhmans, and repaired numerous temples. Here and there she erected tanks and choultries. The most illustrious poet of the time composed an abundance of poems in her praise.⁴⁵

Temporary Conquest of Trichinopoly by the Mussulmans.—Meantime a Turkish chieftain attacked Trichinopoly by surprise, rushed into the fort with his followers, and shut up

⁴³ This Mangamál is a famous character in the traditions of Madura. She escaped being burnt alive with her deceased husband by pleading the state necessity that existed for her acting as guardian to her son.

⁴⁴ This story is told in so many ways that it probably contains an element of truth. The incident might possibly have taken place in the reign of Aurangzeb.

⁴⁵ Mangamál was a type of an Oriental queen, superstitious, unscrupulous, and sensual. It will be seen hereafter that her story bears some resemblance to that of Athaliah. The mother of the infant Naik is said to have killed herself by drinking a large quantity of rose-water. Mr. Nelson, in his "Manual on Madura," suggests that Mangamál probably poisoned the rose-water. There is little doubt but Mr. Nelson's suspicion is correct.

Mangamál and her people within the palace. The Tamil registrar escaped to Madura, and collected all the forces of Mangamál, and besieged the fort of Trichinopoly. At that crisis the people of Mangamál broke into the chamber of the Turk and cut off his head, to her inexpressible joy.

Mangamál's Amour and Death.—One day Mangamál admitted a singer into her apartment and amused herself with his amorous songs. The commander-in-chief told the story to the young prince, Vijaya Ranga, and the prince then seized the singer and flogged him with a rattan. Mangamál was so enraged that she put both the commander-in-chief and the prince her grandson into close confinement, and kept them for three years. When the three years were out, the two prisoners sent secret messages to the officers of the army, and assembled them together behind the walls of the prison, and made their escape by a ladder of ropes. The prince was then placed upon an elephant and carried to the temple, and crowned with the royal diadem. Mangamál was in great fear at these proceedings, but feigned to be filled with joy. The prince, however, shut her up in prison, and she died there after forty days.⁴⁶ The prince was aged thirteen years when he thus obtained the throne of Madura. He was benevolent to the virtuous and inexorable to the vicious, a servant to the religious and a thunderbolt to the impious. He was a warrior delighting in war.

Expedition against Malabar.—After this Ranga Krishna undertook an expedition against the kings of Malabar, and compelled them to pay tribute. His queen was named Mínákshi, but he also married a damsel of great beauty, as well as eight damsels of his own kin. As he grew old he listened to evil counsel, and imprisoned both his minister and commander-in-chief. He died after a reign of forty-one years, leaving no sons to succeed him.

⁴⁶ According to local tradition the amours of Mangamál had been somewhat notorious. She is said to have been starved to death with horrible cruelty. Cooked food was placed at intervals near the bars of her prison window, so that she could see and smell, but could not taste, although in the agonies of hunger.

XI. *Mínákshi Ammál, the Queen-Dowager, 1734-1741.*—The widow of the last Naik now became queen-dowager. She wore the golden diadem on her head, and held the golden sceptre in her hand. Attempts were made to dethrone her, and there were many intrigues set on foot as regards the posts of minister and commander-in-chief. At last the Nawab of Arcot interfered. In the end Chunda Sahib took possession of the kingdom of Trichinopoly, and Mínákshi Ammál killed herself with her own hands. From that time Trichinopoly was incorporated with the dominions of the Nawab of Arcot.

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